PINDAR ISTHMIAN 7, MYTH AND EXEMPLA

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DAVID C. YOUNG

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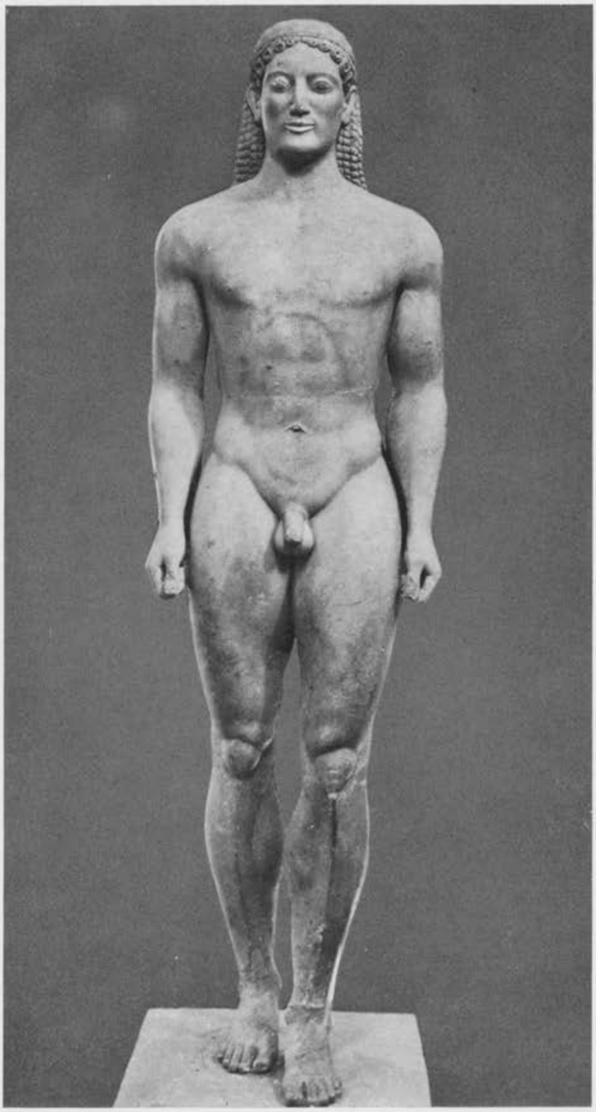

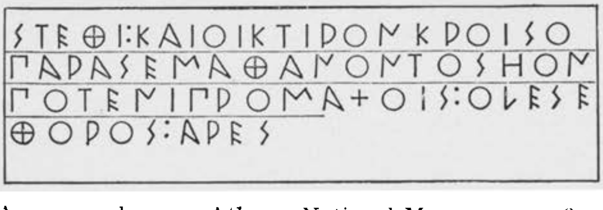

Anavyssos kouros: Athens, National Museum, no. 3851

Inscription on base thought to belong to Anavyssos kouros (reproduced from *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 [1949] 362)

PINDAR ISTHMIAN 7,
MYTH AND EXEMPLA

BY

DAVID C. YOUNG

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL 1971

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To Jan

καὶ Εἰρήνῃ

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INTRODUCTION

As a poem, Strepsiades' epinician (our "Isthmian 7") seems to attract little notice.[1] Our interest in it has always been predominantly historical and biographical. My principal aim, in the following remarks, is to clarify the literary significance of the ode's central portion (vv. 24-43), to which we have paid only superficial attention. Before turning to the literary qualities of *Isthmian* 7, however, I must deal at length with its historical difficulties; for their standard solutions have greatly prejudiced our reading of the entire poem.

The fundamental historical question, the poem's date, has by now become inseparably associated with two other questions that concern the circumstances of composition: namely, to what specific battle do vv. 34ff refer, and does v. 41 imply that Pindar was a very old man when he wrote the poem? Scholars of this century are virtually unanimous: their answer to the first question is Oenophyta and to the second, yes; their date is 454.[2] There has not always been such unanimity.

Early in the nineteenth century August Boeckh set forth a learned, ingenious, and revolutionary explanation of the date and historical circumstances of *Isthmian* 7. Dissen, with an outward sigh of relief, printed Boeckh's essay as a preface to his own exegetical notes on the poem.[3] Boeckh's then novel interpretation soon

[1] Since an analysis of the ode itself is postponed (infra, Chap. II), I here outline its content: the poem begins with a long list of glorious events drawn from Thebes' illustrious past (vv. 1-15). This catalogue of former glories eventually gives way (vv. 16-19) to specific praise of the young victor (vv. 20-24), which, in turn, gives way to a eulogy of his deceased uncle (vv. 25-36) of the same name, Strepsiades. Pindar refers the elder man's death to a battle which he very briefly describes but does not identify. There follow (vv. 37-42) some rather philosophical comments made in the first person, which lead (vv. 43f), through the brief exemplum of Bellerophon (vv. 44a-48), to a prayer for a Pythian victory (vv. 49-51), with which the poem ends.

[2] Or 456 (see infra, nn. 49, 107); the only explicit opposition to the 454/456 date since C. Gaspar (*Essai de chronologie pindarique* [Brussels 1900] 22-28) known to me is Thummer's recent comment (p. 74), "Dabei wissen wir aber gar nicht, wann I. VII verfasst worden ist."

[3] *Ita ego quum iudicarem, vehementer laetatus sum, quod etiam Boeckhium meum adolescentis poetae manum cognovi in hoc carmine non agnoscere, qui quam ad me transmisit doctam et acutam de tempore et ratione carminis dispu-*

prevailed; a century later, Wilamowitz placed it in the canon, where it now enjoys unquestioned acceptance. A recent and prominent restatement occurs piecemeal in Bowra's *Pindar*;[4] it is essentially the same as Boeckh's original version. In the standard, Boeckh-Bowra view, the main points of the poem become Pindar's patriotic hostility toward Athens after her victory over Thebes at Oenophyta; his anxiety for the future of Thebes; and his resigned attitude toward his own impending death. Since Farnell's summary well represents this interpretation, I reproduce a few of his remarks:

> "... the poem is preoccupied with the past glories of Thebes and its present sorrows–in which the house of Strepsiades has part—and with the poet's present philosophy of life.... As the more intelligent commentators have perceived, this ode must have been composed not long after that disastrous defeat [at Oenophyta], which would well explain the striking battle-passage that it contains, as well as the spirit of sorrow and resignation that breathes in parts of it.... But [Pindar] turns his thoughts at once to his own approaching old age and the end of life; and there was much to justify the melancholy that marks the closing portion of this ode; for not only was his own city humbled and depressed, but the city that he loved next after her, Aigina, had fallen before the power of Athens; and he felt the shadow of old age gathering over him."[5]

One might question such an interpretation merely because it so ignores the ode as an epinician for Strepsiades and as a work of art; more disturbing, however, are the philological flaws with which it abounds.

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tationem, integram adiungendam censui (p. 529); Boeckh's essay follows (530-534).

[4] See especially pp. 152ff, 350f, 399, and 69f.

[5] Farnell I, 277-281; cf. Bowra (supra, n. 4), Finley 156-160, Méautis 275-280, Wilamowitz 411ff and many others.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SUPPOSED DATE AND HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

As we inquire into Boeckh's evidence, we need not spend much time on the one point that Boeckh himself regarded as fundamental; for it is also a point that thoughtful scholarship has emphatically repudiated. I refer to the supposed censure of Spartan ingratitude in vv. 12-17. The scholiast, Schadewaldt, and many others—to say nothing of the context—clearly demonstrate that what Boeckh termed the *Spartanorum haud obscura reprehensio* is, in fact, not simply obscure, but non-existent.[6] Even Bowra, despite his predilection for political *reprehensiones*, denies this phantom (and acknowledges the purely literary reference of the passage).[7] Yet Ixion begot an offspring—though he, like Boeckh, embraced a mere illusion. We are slow to recognize the centaurs of literary criti-

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[6] The notion that v. 16 introduces a censure of Spartan ingratitude (Boeckh 530) originated with Aristarchus (A. B. Drachmann [ed.], *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* III [Leipzig 1927] 264). It was first refuted in the very scholium that preserved it, where the scholiast, almost in exasperation, points to τὰ ἑξῆς (*ibid.*); for further arguments against it see Schadewaldt 267, Bundy I, n. 22, Fraccaroli (who protests that χάρις means "gloria" not "gratitudine" here) 710; cf. Bury, Mezger *ad loc.*, Thummer 83f J. Sandys (ed.), *The Odes of Pindar*[2] (London 1919) 489, J. Duchemin, *Pindare, poète et prophète* (Paris 1955) 253, et al. While many scholars before Schadewaldt still clung to Aristarchus' hasty conclusion (Wilamowitz 412, Farnell I, 279, Fennell, Christ *ad loc.*), fewer have been its adherents since 1928 (Méautis 277, L. Wolde, *Pindar, die Dichtungen und Fragmente* [Leipzig 1942] 352, Finley 157). Dissen himself was, as often, caught between his own rather deep understanding of Pindaric discourse and the interpretation for which he opted: *tangi enim Spartanos ingratique animi accusari, perspexerat iam Aristarchus memoratus in Scholiis et probavit Boeckhius argumentis supra propositis. Meum est monere, quam eos leniter tangat. Pergit enim*: Obliviscuntur homines, quod non ad poesis summum ornatum pervenit, carminum flumini iunctum (p. 536).

[7] Pp. 37, 152f (with n. 1). But Bowra does not note that it is Boeckh's view which he rejects, and his comment, "Dornseiff, *Pindar*, 236 holds this view [that the battle is Tanagra] on the strength of 16-19," is misleading. For "Tanagra" in Dornseiff's text (F. Dornseiff [transl.], *Pindar* [Leipzig 1921] 236) seems to be a mere mistake for "Oenophyta" ("der Zusammenbruch in der Schlacht von Tanagra"); Dornseiff seems to have confused the two battles (cf. infra, n. 26, end).

cism. On the contrary, unlike the men in *Pyth.* 2.43, we have allowed Boeckh's centaur to take the prize: *Vs.* 12 *sqq. manifesta continetur Lacedaemoniorum reprehensio* . . . . *Quaerendum tempus, ubi Spartani debitum Thebanis officium neglexerint* (Boeckh 530f). Oenophyta eventually proves to be Boeckh's direct answer to that spurious quest.

But Boeckh espoused more than one illusion. And he therefore fathered more than one centaur. I return to his preliminary remarks: *Simul necesse est eodem tempore clades Thebanorum acciderit: neque enim Strepsiades victor occubuerat, sed in adversa pugna: quod universae odae color monstrat Hectorisque et Amphiarai exemplum* (*vs. 32 sqq.*); quamquam alia res est *in Meleagro pro Aetolorum salute adversus Curetes occumbente* (emphasis added). In other words, Boeckh argues if two plus one made only two. He obviously cared more for Oenophyta than for simple logic. All scholars indeed regard Boeckh's analysis of the exemplum as absurd; [8] yet the offspring of this absurdity passes as if it were legitimate instead of supposititious, and Puech can write—with impunity but not documentation—"L'ode mentionne, on l'a vu, une défaite des Thébains." [9] It is scarcely credible that our belief in a Theban defeat rests on such unsubstantial grounds as the "color of the ode as a whole" and an exemplum which is patently self-contradictory. Yet there is no further evidence. One seeks in vain the mention to which Puech refers.

The only verse which Puech specifically associates with defeat is

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[8] Most (e.g., Christ, Farnell, Fennell, Bury *ad loc.*) reject Boeckh's evaluation of the exempla merely by ignoring it and seeking other explanations; only a few bother to oppose Boeckh (e.g., Mezger 302: "Auch die Berufung auf v. 32f und v. 36 kann Boeckhs Datirung nicht stützen. Denn Meleager fiel in einer siegreichen Schlacht . . ."). Apparently Lattimore alone accepts Boeckh's view of the exemplum, but Lattimore surprisingly thinks that Meleager "lost" (p. 160). Bowra tries to salvage Boeckh's interpretation by using the obscure "disaster" as a euphemism for "death" (p. 153: "The occasion is clearly Oenophyta, and this is why Pindar names Meleager, Hector, and Amphiaraus, all of whom are victims of disaster or defeat"); but Meleager's successful defense of his city (*Iliad* 9.597) remains in full force, and his death, whether called "disaster" or not, remains a poor argument for a Theban defeat.

[9] Puech 65; cf. Oskar Werner, *Pindar* (Munich, 1967) 325; a few scholars are merely intimidated by the weight of tradition (e.g., Myers, *Extant odes of Pindar* [London 1874]: ". . . it has been supposed that the battle referred to—apparently a defeat—"), but most (e.g., Méautis 275) accept defeat as if it were obvious.

36.[10] It is true that some critics and many translators proceed as if the phrase ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος meant "suffered defeat" or the like,[11] but there is no possibility that the Greek words can express that meaning. One would expect that the aorist root σχ^{e}/ο here, like the future σχήσω in Homer,[12] would refer to a successful holding or 'checking' of an enemy attack. Indeed, Thummer and a very few others use "standhielten" or an equivalent.[13] But the commentators are silent on the difficulty, and no one since Dissen has even adduced a parallel.[14] An ideal parallel would exhibit a comparable vocabulary in a similar context and, like Pindar's phrase, contain the aorist of ἔχω with an accusative object qualified by a genitive noun. We should hardly expect to find anything so

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[10] Puech 64, n. 3.

[11] With Puech's remark (supra, n. 10) cf. the translations of Lattimore ("took the stern verdict of battle"), Farnell ("bore the brunt of war's debate"), Finley 158 ("bore war's bitterness"), et al.

[12] When explaining the distinction between the two futures, scholars stop little short of uttering the words "future aorist": LSJ s.v. ἔχω: "fut. ἕξω . . . (of duration) or σχήσω (of momentary action, esp. in sense *check*)"; P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I^{3} (Paris 1958) 446: ". . . un élargissement . . . à l'aoriste sigmatique [σχήσω] . . . . ἕξω signifiant 'avoir, garder' . . ., σχήσω 'déterminé' signifie le plus souvent 'arrêter' 'contenir' 'susprendre.'"

[13] The only wholly accurate translation known to me is Thummer's "dem Streit des Krieges standhielten," but G. Norwood (*Pindar* [Berkeley 1945] 89) translates the verb and conveys the idea correctly ("stemmed that bitter fray," and H. Tremenheere (*Translations from Pindar* [London 1886]) has "sternly held to every foot of ground"; Wolde's "standhielten im Knäu'l des Kampfs" loses Pindar's transitive construction. Most translators take refuge in a vague phrase such as "sustained the strife of war" (Sandys [supra, n. 6]; cf. Puech, Fraccaroli).

[14] Dissen (*ad loc.*) glosses ἔσχον with *sustinuerunt* and adduces, without comment, *Iliad* 14.57 (μάχην ἄλιαστον ἔχουσι). He does not claim that Homer's phrase connotes defeat (although the Achaeans are indeed hard pressed at this point). Yet *Iliad* 14.57 is not an adequate parallel; μάχην is not qualified by another word, and, more importantly, the verb is in the progressive aspect. μάχην ἔχουσι probably merely means "have battle," little more than a periphrasis for μάχονται. So Méautis, in fact, seems to take Pindar's ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος, for he translates merely "combattaient" (p. 278; cf. Fraenkel 542 ["den Schlachtenstreit eingingen"]); but the qualifying word, πολέμοιο, makes a periphrastic interpretation of Pindar's phrase (i.e., = ἐνείκεσαν) unlikely (cf. J. Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*^{2} [reprint Hildesheim 1966] s.v. ἔχω A.I. 4d). ἔχω may be used absolutely as a military term for 'hold,' 'check' (*Iliad* 13.679; see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* II.1^{3} [Hannover and Leipzig 1898] 92 ["standhalten"]). If *Iliad* 14.57 is not periphrastic, it may be conative. Wilamowitz (p. 413) mentions *Od.* 18.264, ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος πτολέμοιο, but ἔκριναν is not sufficiently parallel to ἔσχον in meaning.

precise; neither, however, should we continue to ignore Tyrtaeus' description of the ideal warrior (9.20ff.):

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.
αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας
τρηχείας, σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης.

I do not see how we may attach opposed meanings to phrases so semantically kindred [15] and syntactically identical as ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος and ἔσχεθε [16] κῦμα μάχης—especially when they occur in almost identical linguistic and contextual environments. The first verse of Tyrtaeus' next distich (αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν) is the precise counterpart of Pindar's previous clause (εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἁλικίαν προμάχων ἂν ὅμιλον); the following verse (ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας) is a close parallel of *Isthm.* 7.29 (ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων). Since defeat is utterly foreign to Tyrtaeus' context,[17] we are not justified, merely on the specious grounds of ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν,[18] in concluding that Pindar indicates

[15] That νεῖκος, like κῦμα, can be treated concretely is clearly shown by its frequent and formulaic use with ὄρωρεν, etc. in Homer (*Iliad* 13.271 and passim; so πόλεμος much less frequently, either alone [2.797] or with νεῖκος [12.361]). κῦμα appears as a subject of ὄρωρεν, etc., but Tyrtaeus' metaphor, κῦμα μάχης, is not in Homer.

[16] G. Fatouros, *Index Verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Heidelberg 1966) lists this occurrence under (an unasterisked) σχέθω, which would make it imperfect rather than aorist. It is true that some modern scholars continue to believe in a present σχέθω (e.g., A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*[3] [Paris 1963] 177), but others do not (e.g., Chantraine [supra, n. 12] 329), and its aorist value (LSJ *s.v.* *σχέθω) is confirmed by its "gnomic" use in Tyrtaeus' sentence.

[17] Translations of Tyrtaeus' phrase unquestionably connote success in battle rather than defeat; e.g., J. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* I [reprint London 1961] 77: "stemmeth the wave of battle with a will."

[18] Bowra (p. 153) regards ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν alone as sufficient proof of a Theban defeat, but without cause. A successful rally, when hope seems all but gone, is a phenomenon sure to receive mention in an account of the contest, whether athletic (in baseball, the last half of the 9th inning, with two men out . . .) or military (cf. Peek 14.3-6, where it is carefully recorded that the fallen Thelphusians whom the epitaph honors repulsed, in the deep of night, an enemy that had already crossed over the embattlements of the city walls).

Yet there is also a possibility that ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν does not even mean "in desperate hopes" (Bowra 153) or the like. The scholiast (schol. 50), on the contrary, explains ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔσχατα ἐπελπίζοντες, ὅ ἐστιν ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑποστελλόμενοι, and he has been followed (i.e., with a reference to the hopes of the individual warriors rather than to the outcome of the battle) by the advocates of Tanagra (Mezger 302, 305, Bury *ad loc.*, Fraccaroli 711 [" ' con estreme speranze,' cioè aspettandosi la morte"])

a defeat. Pindar's comments on the battle itself, then, are certainly too meager to be decisive; but they suggest a victory (or, at the worst, a stalemate) far more strongly than they suggest a defeat.

There remains but one phrase that could be so misunderstood as to cause belief in a Theban defeat. In the sentence that immediately follows the account of Strepsiades' death, the poet [19] claims to have undergone ineffable πένθος (v. 36). Scholars, therefore, who are politically and biographically preoccupied somehow draw their conclusions as if by conditioned reflex: Thebes experienced some grievous political reversal (viz. such as emerged from the battle of Oenophyta) in Pindar's aristocratic eyes.[20] If, however, we should attribute Pindar's πένθος to a source other than politico-military disaster, we may restore their apparent meaning to the words ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος—and, incidentally, to πένθος itself, which usually denotes "mourning" for the dead.[21] We need not seek

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and Tremenheere (supra, n. 13). A parallel has not been cited, but perhaps Callinus 1.5 (καί τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' ἀκοντισάτω) is pertinent.

[19] Few (the translators Lattimore, Sandys [supra, n. 6], Wolde [supra, n. 6]) follow Wilamowitz (p. 413, n. 1) in making ἔτλαν third person; and Bowra (p. 153, n. 3) gives sufficient arguments for the first person. One scholiast (schol. 51b) views the verb as third person but makes the subject not the warriors but οἱ σοὶ οἰκεῖοι (for schol. 51a see infra, n. 28).

[20] Dissen (pp. 538f), again caught between his own apperception and Boeckh's interpretation (cf. supra, n. 6), was forced into rare subleties, which I quote at length only to shed light on less conspicuous but far more insidious versions of precisely the same double-talk:

> "Non dixerat aperte, gravi proelio urbem esse victam, multosque viros caesos, sed urbis nomen plane tacens ita rem tractaverat, ut non tam de publica clade, quam de Strepsiadae morte loqui videretur. Hinc non dixit: ἔτλα δὲ πόλις πένθος οὐ φατόν, . . . quamquam haud dubie non [Strepsiadem] solum doluerat, sed universam tum illatam cladem . . . Sic miro poetae artificio factum, ut quamquam nonnisi de Strepsiadae morte et Pindari luctu legentes, multorum tamen virorum cladem intelligamus factam, ut publicum civitatis luctum sentiamus. Significavit omnia quae volebat, nec tamen laesit quemquam. Saepe iam vidimus subtile Pindari iudicium in huiusmodi rebus tractandis."

Cf. Boeckh's *universum dolorem* offensionesque (530), Bowra's "his sorrow *and humiliation*" (250) and "grief at the *disaster*" (153), Méautis' " 'j'ai souffert une douleur indicible' *et* par la mort de Strepsiade *et par la défaite de Thèbes*" and "Thèbes a subi une grave défaite, *elle sort de la tempête* (v. 36)" (278f), Finley's "from the other side of sorrow *and defeat*" (160), Farnell *ad* vv. 37-42, Wilamowitz' "trotz *aller* Trauer" (411); etc. (emphases added).

[21] See LSJ s.v. πένθος, I.2 (and 1; e.g., *Iliad* 16.548 in context). With respect to *Isthm.* 8.5c, the scholiast (schol. 12a) is almost certainly correct (cf. C. Ruck and W. Matheson, *Selected Odes of Pindar* [Ann Arbor 1968] 94) in referring μεγάλων πενθέων to the mourning of the fallen soldiers; the

a recondite explanation. We need only allow Pindar his current poetic subject: 'Strepsiades died; I mourned him.' Few lines of thought could be so lucid, and one may mourn a fallen warrior, whether he fell victorious or in defeat.[22]

Although it is at least conceivable that Strepsiades died at Oenophyta, there is nothing in the present state of evidence to give Oenophyta precedence over other Theban battles, some of which are probably unrecorded.[23] Upon examination, in fact, Boeckh's arguments prove preposterous,[24] and our credulous acceptance of his conclusions is an embarrassment, for there is not a shred of reasonable evidence to connect the battle in question with either a Theban defeat or Spartan negligence. If the standard approximate date for the ode were confirmed, I would prefer seeing a reference to the battle of Tanagra, because I find the suggestion of victory much stronger than that of defeat both in v. 36 and in the subjective category that Boeckh terms the *universae odae color*.[25]

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phrase has nothing to do with Pindar's supposed grief arising from Thebes' medism (Méautis 305, Wilamowitz 197f, Lefkowitz, "ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ: The First Person in Pindar," *HSCP* 67 [1963] n. 78). ἀχνύμενος (περ) (*Isthm.* 8.5) often appears in contexts of mourning (*Iliad* 22.424; 23.165), and the fallen warriors' absence probably suggests the image of ὀρφανία in *Isthm.* 8.6 (cf. ἐρήμωσεν ἑστίαν, *Isthm.* 4.17b).

[22] There are, of course, a few scholars for whom πένθος implies only mourning for Strepsiades' death, without a necessary Theban disaster lurking in the background (viz., the supporters of Tanagra, Mezger, Fraccaroli, and Bury, and the students of the genre, Bundy and Thummer).

[23] Although we seem to have much more information than Pausanias (9.6) who sketches Thebes' "φανερώτατα" military victories and defeats (which include Tanagra but not the battles against the Athenians at the end of the 6th century [Hdt. 5.77] nor Oenophyta), it seems presumptuous to assume that our knowledge is perfect.

[24] I use the word advisedly, for it appears obvious to me that Boeckh selected Oenophyta before coming to his conclusion about the exempla of vv. 32f (supra, p. 4), etc.

[25] So Mezger, after summarizing Boeckh's interpretation, writes, "Aber gerade der Character des Eingangs muss gegen diese Auslegung bedenklich machen." He continues to introduce a joyful poem that presents the future of Thebes "in a rosy light" (pp. 301f). His notion that εὐδίαν refers to the general political state of Thebes (more than to Strepsiades' victory) is no doubt as erroneous as Boeckh's view that πένθος implies Theban disaster (more than mourning for Strepsiades); but the opposition between Boeckh and Mezger is a sobering reminder of how whimsical may be our impressions of the "color" of an ode (whatever that may be—the "tone" of a poem [Farnell II, 371] is no great improvement, and too obscure to be adduced as evidence).

Unfortunately, we do not have so simple a choice as that between Oenophyta and Tanagra. The approximate date to which *Isthmian* 7 is now universally assigned, that is, very late in Pindar's life, was also a creation of Boeckh's, and part and parcel of his then revolutionary Oenophyta-interpretation. Before Boeckh, the poem was assigned (e.g., by Thiersch) to the very beginning of Pindar's career, a dating approved even by two post-Boeckh scholars, Bergk and Gaspar.[26] Boeckh proclaimed that an early date was impossible on the grounds that vv. 37-42 could have been composed only in the last few years of the poet's life, for the passage contains the words ἔπειμι γῆρας ἐς τε τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα.[27]

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[26] F. Thiersch (*Pindarus Werke* II [Leipzig 1820] 188) wrote, "Das Gedicht gehört unstreitig zu den frühesten des Pindar," and he identified the battle in question with the wars (Hdt. 5.77) between Athens and Thebes "welche dem Anfange der persischen und dem Aufstande der Ioner unmittelbar vorangingen" (cf. C. Heyne, *Pindari carmina* I² [Leipzig 1817] 647). Gaspar (supra, n. 2) 22f came to the same conclusion (cf. Bergk 1363 [corrigendum of p. 8]), and he was so observant as to note that even Boeckh himself suggested this same pre-Persian dating in the first part (p. 553) of the very volume that contains the Oenophyta-interpretation (II.1 appeared in 1819, II.2, in 1821). Other scholars had recommended the Persian wars themselves. Because of the ridicule heaped (e.g., by Méautis 275) upon the identification of the pertinent battle with the wars that occurred at the end of the sixth century, it is only fair to note that neither Heyne nor Thiersch committed himself to a sixth-century date for the poem itself (Gaspar [supra, n. 2], who dated the poem in 502 ["La plus ancienne épinicie de Pindare qui nous soit parvenue"], approved a Pindaric birth-date of 522). I think that the sixth-century battles are as relevant as Tanagra-Oenophyta (see also infra, n. 111) but no more relevant, and all of these do not exhaust the possibilities.

Pindaric scholars understandably attribute little or no importance to the scholiasts' assertion that Strepsiades was killed in "the Peloponnesian war." I cannot find the source of Dornseiff's statement (supra, n. 7), "Auch der junge Strepsiades fiel später im Peloponnesischen Krieg," which seems to result from a confusion (cf. supra, n. 7) of the two Strepsiadae; there is no δέ in scholion 34a, and 34b attributes the death in "the Peloponnesian war" to the uncle. There is a possibility that Dornseiff is right after all, and has simply reversed a confusion first made by the scholiasts; i.e., perhaps the scholiasts, confused by the identical names, transferred a report of the younger man's death, in the later Peloponnesian war, to the older man, whose death is mentioned in the poem. This solution to the difficulties raised by scholia 34a-b would certainly make more sense than that which we now accept (that they are merely "foolish" [Farnell II, 371]). But one wonders where, in any case, the scholiasts would have obtained such information about either man.

[27] Boeckh 530f; cf. Méautis 275, Turyn 216, Mezger 301; etc. Boeckh himself admitted that the syntax did not require an aged speaker, but asserted that Greek idiom (*tamen ex Graeci sermonis usu*) restricted such expressions to the aged or *senio proximus*: that unsupported assertion is, as

A fundamental difference between Boeckh and Thiersch lies in a disagreement as to whether or not vv. 37-42 are an autobiographical statement. Thiersch followed a scholiast in assigning them to the chorus.[28] Modern scholarship, however, has virtually replaced the concept of a Pindaric choral "I" with that of the "general" first person.[29] Even Fennell and, more recently, Fraenkel (neither of whom breaks with Boeckh's Oenophyta-interpretation or his dating) have contended that vv. 40-42 are not autobiographical, but rather an instance of the well-known "general" use of the first person.[30] The existence of such a use of the first person, which I have elsewhere called "the first person indefinite," [31] need not be questioned, for some kind of generalized first person has been acknowledged, in one passage or another, by virtually all Pindaric scholars, including Von der Muehll, Heyne, Boeckh himself, Dissen,[32] Wilamowitz, Bundy, Des Places, Schadewaldt, Dornseiff, Burton,[33] van Groningen, Finley,[34] Fraccaroli, Fennell, Christ, Radt, Thummer, and Slater.[35] However, the foremost exponent

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we shall soon see, clearly contradicted by the evidence; yet it has passed almost (see Gaspar [supra, n. 2] 24f and infra, n. 30) without challenge.

[28] Thiersch (supra, n. 26), 193: "Dieses sagt der Dichter nicht in seinem Namen, sondern in dem des Chors . . ."; scholium 51a: ὁ τῷ ἀποθανόντι διαφέρων ἐγὼ ὁ χορός, φησίν, ἔτλαν (Drachmann terms διαφέρων corrupt, but Bury *ad loc.* quotes it, without explanation, as if sound, and it may merely mean "having reference to": see E. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods* [reprint New York, 1957], s.v. διαφέρω).

[29] I. Mueller's book (*Quomodo Pindarus chori persona usus sit* [Freiburg, 1914]) stands alone as a general assertion of the choral "I" in the epinician, and it finds little to offer. Though many scholars do not deny, in principle, the choral "I" to the epinician, reasonable and powerful arguments for its existence in specific passages (e.g., Fraenkel 485, n. 2) receive little or no consideration (see Lefkowitz [supra, n. 21], especially note 117, for a historical summary of the question). Although recent work in Pindaric scholarship undoubtedly suggests that Lefkowitz has greatly exaggerated "Pindar's Personal I" while undervaluing the "bardic I" and "general I," her denial of the "choral I" does not yet appear in jeopardy.

[30] Fennell *ad loc.*: "The poet himself was about sixty-six at the assumed date of this ode, but the prayer is of general application."

[31] See Young 58ff with notes.

[32] See Von der Muehll, "Wurde die elfte Pythie Pindars 474 oder 454 gedichtet?" *MusHelv* 15 (1958) 144, n. 12.

[33] See Young 58, n. 5.

[34] *Ibid.* 12, n. 2.

[35] Fraccaroli 711 ("Pindaro parla in persona prima, secondo il suo solito, quando vuol dare maggior peso ad una sentenza, anche se questa meglio si approprierebbe ad altrui"); Slater, *CQ* N.S. 19 (1969) 89f; Christ *ad Pyth.* 3.110: *poeta sub sua persona Hieroni consilia dat.* Cf. also Thummer 155-158, Lefkowitz (supra, n. 21) 223f (with notes), S. Radt, *Pindars*

of this kind of first person comment is Fraenkel, who writes with specific reference to the final stanzas of *Isthmian 7*:

> Das "mir" in dem Schlussgebet [v. 49] bezieht sich auf den isthmischen Sieger: er hat vor, sich demnächst auch in den pythischen Spielen zu versuchen. Ein "ich" in Pindars Poesie ist vieldeutig. Meistens geht es auf den Dichter; manchmal auf den das Lied vortragenden Chor und die Gemeinde die er vertritt; gelegentlich, wie hier, auf den im Liede Gefeierten, in dessen Namen Pindar und der Chor vor die Götter tritt; und schliesslich bedeutet oft ein "ich will," "ich werde" und ähnliches, so viel wie 'man soll,' weil das Dichterwort ein Ausdruck der öffentlichen Meinung und ein Spiegel massgeblicher Lebensweisheit ist. *So steht z.B. in diesem Lied* [v. 40] *"Was der Tag an Freuden bringt, will ich aufsuchen—" für '—soll man aufsuchen—'.*[36]

To recognize Pindar's use of the first person for general commendations is not to attribute to him an eccentricity. Fraenkel notes a similar usage in Archilochus, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Simonides, and Theognis. Indeed, Pindar's frequent use of the first person in ethical contexts may be an adaptation of the highly developed use of the first person in ethical poetry such as we find in Theognis.[37] Fraenkel's remarks about *Isthm.* 7.37-42 are provocative; and they offer, from a poetic point of view, a worthy alternative to our belief that Pindar intrudes into Strepsiades' epinician a scarcely relevant and quite personal comment on the course of his own

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zweiter und sechster Paian (Amsterdam 1958) 28. Bowra seems the only scholar since Farnell who consciously and completely refuses to recognize some such use of the first person (he still protests [p. 357] that the πλοῦτος in *Pyth.* 3.110 is Pindar's, not Hieron's, and that the passage displays "a frank attitude towards payment").

[36] Fraenkel 543, n. 12 (verse numbers and emphasis added). Fraenkel's comments result from a long interest in the problem; cf. the embryonic version of the same note in his 1930 review of Schadewaldt (H. Fraenkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*[2] [Munich 1960] 366, n. 1). In the unusually helpful index at the back of *Dichtung und Philosophie*, Fraenkel writes ([2.2-5]): "So ist das erlebenden Ich oft nicht als Individuum gemeint sondern als Typos, und das urteilende Ich gibt nicht individuellen Ansichten oder Stimmungen Ausdruck sondern gibt an wie man urteilen soll."

[37] See Fraenkel's index (supra, n. 36) and his general comment (p. 170) on elegy: "Auch wenn der Dichter zunächst nur einen einzelnen anspricht, meint er doch die Gesamtheit aller die in ähnlicher Lage sind; und wenn er von sich selbst redet, dient ihm die eigene Person nur als Beispiel." Cf. Lefkowitz (supra, n. 21) 224 (Theognis). Choral poetry's adaptation of such a tradition can probably be seen even in tragedy; see Young 12, n. 2.

private life. We cannot, however, pass judgment on Fraenkel's interpretation until later in our study; for such a decision should be made only when the context of the disputed passage is in clear view.

We must here, however, proceed to divest the poem of any approximate date. For even if vv. 40ff should prove to be autobiographical, they would tell us nothing about their date of composition: Boeckh's assertion that they could have been written only by a man advanced in age will not withstand even ordinary exegesis. By neglecting Greek idiom, earlier scholars have badly misconstrued the focus of the sentence. It does not express an attitude of resignation toward an existing old age and an imminent death; on the contrary, it focuses on a manner of life.[38] That is to say, the main thought of the sentence is expressed in the words ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων, ἕκαλος; the words ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα form a common idiomatic periphrasis for 'for the rest of my life' much, in fact, like our "till the day I die." [39] Pindar puts virtually the same periphrastic formula in the mouth of Lampon in *Isthm.* 6, where the manner of life to be maintained (i.e., the idea equivalent to *Isthm.* 7.40) is expressed in the phrase τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς: [40]

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[38] Heyne (supra, n. 26) *ad loc.* sensed that the main idea was not in the main verb, but he misconstrued the syntax, dissociating ἔπειμι from γῆρας (*ut* διώκων ἔπειμι *sit ornate pro* διώκω τὸ τερπνόν).

[39] Additional light on ἐς γῆρας is shed by other parallels. *Nem.* 9.44: ἐκ πόνων δ', οἳ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται σύν τε δίκᾳ, τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα. The reference is to Chromius' life, and if Chromius was ἐν ἀλικίᾳ πρώτᾳ (v. 42) in 493-492 (Bowra 129) he is unlikely to have been an actual γέρων 20 years later; the phrase merely means that Chromius' achievements will cause the rest of his life to be pleasant (cf. *Ol.* 1.97f). Cf. also *Nem.* 7.98ff, and the use of γηράσκω in Semon. 7.86 (φίλη δὲ σὺμ φιλεῦντι γηράσκει πόσι), Tyrtaeus 9.39 (infra, p. 40), and Solon 22.8. Most scholars, from Plutarch on (*Vit. Sol.* 2.2; 29.6; 31.7) have somewhat misconstrued the famous γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος, which is given as a definition of "τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν" by a young man in Pseudo-Plato *Amat.* 133c (who then explains: ἀεὶ χρῆναι ἕν γέ τι μανθάνειν τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφήσειν, καὶ νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ πρεσβύτερον). In Plato *Lach.* 188b "τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος" is paraphrased μανθάνειν ἕωσπερ ἂν ζῇ. Eur. *frag.* 1027.3f νέος δ' ὅταν πόλλ' ἐξαμάρτῃ, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔχει εἰς γῆρας (cf. *frag.* 575, where μακρὸς αἰών clearly shows that εἰς γῆρας ἐλθεῖν = 'for his whole life'); *Alc.* 52: ἐς γῆρας μόλοι = 'live (a normal lifetime)'.

For ἐς τὸ μόρσιμον αἰῶνα cf. such expressions as θάλλοντες αἰεὶ σὺν θεῷ θνατὸν διέρχονται βιότου τέλος (*Isthm.* 4.4f).

[40] The phrase sums up vv. 9-11b; for the syntax of this (often misconstrued) sentence see Farnell *ad loc.* (II, 358).

τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὔχεται
ἀντιάσαις Ἀΐδαν [41] γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολιόν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς (vv. 12ff).

Nem. 8.35b-39 show the same formula in abbreviation (i.e., omitting γῆρας), while setting forth, elaborately, the modes of life that will last until the dying day:

ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις
ἁπλόαις ζωᾶς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανὼν ὡς παισὶ κλέος
μὴ τὸ δύσφαμον προσάψω. χρυσὸν εὔχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι
ἀπέραντον, ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἁδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαι,[42]
αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

Although scholars persist in dating *Nemean* 8 late, on no more grounds than this reference to death,[43] χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαι is clearly neither a figurative death rattle nor a death wish. It is merely a variant of ἐς τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα and ἀντιάσαις Ἀΐδαν, indicating that the manner of life is to be continued toward its indefinite end. In the first sentence (vv. 35b-37) the main clause expresses the main idea, which concerns a way of life (ζωᾶς), and the notion of death is expressed by a participle in the subordinate clause. However, in the second sentence we find the more unexpected, but nevertheless more common emphasis, where the main verb of the personal prayer denotes death, and the manner of life is expressed in the participles. Christ captures the idea in his paraphrase of the second sentence: *ut* vivo, *sic* etiam moriar *civibus meis probatus, unde poeta* usque ad mortem *suis civibus placere se velle dicat* (emphasis added).[44] The καί cannot be ignored; nor can we ignore how clearly αἰνέων αἰνητά, κτλ. specify not a way of death but, on the contrary, the very κελεύθοις ἁπλόαις ζωᾶς for which the poet has just prayed.

Their conventionality, then, and their contexts indicate that the

[41] I depart from Turyn's text in capitalizing the alpha, for LSJ will not list the uncapitalized version as a word, and to use the upper case letter in *Nem.* 7.31, but not in *Isthm.* 6.13 or *Pyth.* 5.96 seems inconsistent. It is unfortunate that we must create such arbitrary distinctions.

[42] Douglas Young, "Word Division at Verse-end in Pindar," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 11, may be correct in retaining καλύψαιμ' here; yet the infinitive causes no grammatical offense, and the ellipsis of the verb creates a parallelism that well suits such priamels (cf. Sappho A. 16 [LP] 1-4).

[43] E.g., Bowra 412.

[44] Christ *ad loc.*

main interest of these passages is not in old age itself nor death, but in the maintenance of a manner of life for the longest possible time.[45] Similar expressions can be found almost at will in ancient literature and contemporary speech, such as, "for the rest of my days" and "till the day I die." Although old people may be attracted to these expressions,[46] their use is obviously not restricted to the aged. Young lovers are especially fond of them.[47] To return to *Isthm.* 6, Lampon might well have been middle-aged when he speaks the prayer that Pindar attributes to him, but we have no right to regard him as senile or so advanced in age that he ruminates on an imminent death.[48]

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[45] The parallels from *Isthm.* 6 and *Nem.* 8, moreover, show that the apparent imbalance between main thought and main verb in *Isthm.* 7 is not an anomaly, but a frequent convention of the idiom. We shall observe the same phenomenon again (infra, p. 41). In common idiomatic conversation, English shows precisely the same imbalance; e.g., "He will die wearing that shirt," meaning 'he will wear that shirt so long as he lives.'

[46] Eur. *Andr.* 1216f (for which cf. idiomatic English, "even in the grave").

[47] Tib. 2.2.17-20: *utinam strepitantibus advolet alis/flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor,/vincula quae maneant semper dum tarda senectus/inducat rugas inficiatque comas.* Tib. 1.1.59f: *te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora/te teneam moriens deficiente manu*; consonant with their usual hyperbole, the elegists may turn the *topos*, which ordinarily has little or no interest in death itself, into an elaborate description of their own—hardly imminent—funeral: see K. Smith, *Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (reprint Darmstadt 1964) *ad loc.* Prop. 1.6.27f: *multi longinquo periere in amore libenter/in quorum numero me quoque terra tegat.* Even Prop. 2.1.47, *laus in amore mori,* is related to the same theme. The words in the popular song "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man" (from Jerome Kern's "Show Boat") "Fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly, I gotta love one man till I die," are surely sung more often by young women than by senile old ladies. In the 1951 M-G-M motion picture, "Show Boat," the words were sung, in fact, by the "lovely Ava Gardner," according to the record jacket of the recording of the sound-track (M-G-M recording E3230).

[48] Since Lampon had a son named Pytheas, and the practice of naming a son after his grandfather is frequent in such families, we should perhaps note the suggestion of W. How and J. Wells (*Commentary on Herodotus* [Oxford 1928] II, 321) that the Aeginetan Lampon, son of Pytheas, who was present at the battle of Plataea (Hdt. 9.78.1) is the same man; for the difficulties in that identification and possible resolutions see How and Wells, *ibid.* The victory which *Isthm.* 6 celebrates is assigned to the boys' competition by most editors (B. Snell, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* I³ [Leipzig 1959], C. M. Bowra, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*² [Oxford 1947], Thummer, et al., but not by Turyn).

CHAPTER TWO

AN ANALYSIS

It will be helpful to summarize the results of the foregoing historical study. The necessary decision on the first person in vv. 40-42 must await an examination of their context. But in order to understand what the context of the disputed passage is, it is necessary, in this case, to be quite certain what the context is not. Boeckh's interpretation, the standard for well over a century, evaporates point by point when subjected to rather elementary analysis. Virtually nothing remains. The dating in 454 (or 456),[49] the connection with Oenophyta, the assumption of a defeated Thebes, the saddened but plucky old poet, lifting up his hoary head in the face of national disaster—all these must be set aside. Most importantly, what Bowra has called "this anti-Athenian point of view" [50] of the ode must be set aside, too, for it is, in its entirety, founded upon a network of these other fictions. There is certainly nothing in the poem to support it.

Such negative conclusions are, I admit, disheartening. It is indeed difficult to abandon so seemingly assured a date and an interpretation so pregnant with political and biographical implications. And any diminution of Pindar's anti-Athenian arsenal would surely displease the initiates of those mysteries. But our main discomfort, if we accept these negative results, is merely that of ignorance. We are naturally loath to purchase ignorance at the price of apparently certain knowledge. But if vv. 25-37 are not a rehearsal of the pain of Oenophyta, we may still inquire what

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[49] Boeckh had assigned Strepsiades' victory to the Isthmian games that followed the battle of Oenophyta, those of 456, and confidently placed the ode in the same year, as do most others, such as O. Schroeder (ed.), *Pindari carmina* [Leipzig 1923] 74f, Méautis 275, and Bowra 69. But Bowra 412 (contra his own p. 69) chooses 454 because "perhaps [456] allows too short a time for Pindar to have recovered his spirits from the national disaster." It looks as if Bowra was unable to grasp Wilamowitz' cogent reason for rejecting 456 (see infra, n. 107), but was nevertheless unwilling to oppose Wilamowitz in his chronology; the inherent improbability of 456 is, in fact, a considerable embarrassment to the Oenophyta-interpretation, which its supporters carefully suppress.

[50] See Young 7, n. 4.

they are. If Pindar's aim in elaborating and moralizing the uncle's death is not a bitter and defiant denunciation of Athenian policy, we might yet investigate other motives. And if an unprejudiced reading allows us to supplant our lost historical knowledge with knowledge of the poem itself, we have made a good bargain.

Once we shift our interest from biography to poetry, there is an abundance of evidence. It is not difficult to determine what vv. 25-37 are. They are a comprehensive but succinct rehearsal of the themes that Greek poets commonly apply to the ideal warrior, whom Strepsiades the elder here represents. The Tyrtaeus-parallels that I mentioned earlier, when discussing ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος, are far from fortuitous: we have utterly neglected to inquire into the literary background of Pindar's digression on the fallen uncle, and that background is obvious.[51] But in order to perceive adequately the function of the Strepsiades-digression, we must study it, too, in its full poetic context. I shall, therefore, review the poem beginning at the beginning, even though the discussion must concentrate disproportionately on controversial or obscure passages.

Isthmian 7 lacks the extended mythical narrative which characteristically occupies the center of the Pindaric ode; I shall later speak at length about this point. As other critics have remarked, however, any generic requirement of mythical material is met by the comments that follow the opening statement, "In which of your native glories, Theba, do you especially delight?"[52] Yet instead of introducing a long narrative, these brief mythical references merely compose a list—interesting in its details—of previous Theban glories. Critics have investigated the proem from mythological, psychological, stylistic, and even structural points of view,[53] but seem not to have noticed that the opening verses form a kind of Theban chronicle. Verses 1-15 follow a chronological

[51] It is scarcely credible that so important a fact should pass unnoticed and without discussion; yet I have noted only two comments that indicate even the slightest recognition of this background, and these are little more than allusions, both nineteenth-century, and almost parenthetical: A. Croiset, *Poésie de Pindare* [Paris 1880] 261 notes that Pindar sings of the fallen Strepsiades "avec la mâle énergie d'un Tyrtée," and Fraccaroli (p. 711) says in reference to Pindar's version of the "living or dead" formula (v. 30), "concetto capitale delle elegie di Tirteo."

[52] Puech 63; cf. Bowra 281, Schadewaldt 267.

[53] E.g., Farnell I, 277ff, Finley 157, Thiersch (supra, n. 26) 188, Schadewaldt 267, respectively.

descent, perhaps imperfect, but nevertheless discernible, which starts with so pristine an event as the birth of Dionysus, moves through events of the middle period of Theban ancient history, such as the attack of the Seven, and ends with the most recent ancient event of the list, the help that the Theban Aegeidae gave the Lacedaemonians in securing Amyclae.[54] Our customary denial of a historical sense in Pindar is now proving to be a serious misrepresentation that results from false criteria and half-truths, such as Pindar's supposedly extreme Dorian provincialism.[55] The last item in the present catalogue of Theban glories is probably historical, and we shall later see how useless are such proclamations as "pour [Pindare et ceux de sa race], les mythes ne sont pas des histoires." [56] If the proem of *Isthmian 7* is a poetic epitome of Theban ancient history, and we press the details, we might even regard Pindar as a more sophisticated historian than we should expect. His balanced, comprehensive presentation compensates for any lack of chronological precision. Pindar has managed to touch upon the extraordinary divine favor and native gods of Thebes, her foremost heroes, principal clans, a great and crucial war, and even foreign relations (alliance with Sparta at Amyclae); I hesitate to add that rather parvenu historical category called 'intellectual history' (ἢ ἀμφὶ πυκναῖς Τειρεσίαο βουλαῖς).

My point is this: to criticize Pindar, as some have done, for so

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[54] For the reference to Amyclae see the scholiast (and Bury) *ad loc.* The general chronological descent is not dependent on a perfect, item for item, sequence; for it is, of course, impossible to devise consistent relative chronologies of mythical events. Teiresias' life spans a period that includes most of the Theban stories. The *Spartoi* are the autochthons of Thebes when Cadmus comes to found it, yet they remain as a family, and Creon is of the *Spartoi* line (Aesch. *Sept.* 474). Hesiod frag. 25 (M-W) suggests that Herakles and Amphiaraus would be contemporaries, Creon is characteristically here and there, etc.

[55] See C. Starr, *Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit* (New York 1968) 124-131. Though he might have made an even better case, Starr well argues for a strong historical sense in Pindar, finding him very near—nearer than any of his predecessors or contemporaries—to Herodotus in this respect. To deny Pindar a sense of history is convenient for those who wish to represent him as the provincial product of an uninquisitive, self-satisfied society with the sophistication and future of the last dinosaurs. The evidence, however, does not suit the representation: see Young 113f and David Young, "Pindaric Criticism[2]" (in W. Calder [ed.], *Pindaros und Bakchylides* [Darmstadt 1970; = *Wege der Forschung* Bd. 134]) 67-70 and n. 107.

[56] Méautis 276; I shall later discuss this question in detail but from another point of view (infra, Chap. III).

extended an answer to his rhetorical question of v. 1 is perhaps to misunderstand his aim. The proem is not a pointless, rambling list but a carefully designed, serious reflection on the opening sentence. Because of the rhetorical question and the disjunctive presentation, Schadewaldt and Bundy are surely right in viewing the proem of *Isthmian* 7 as a kind of *priamel*. The items in the catalogue give way to—and thus highlight—praise of the victor, Strepsiades.[57] But since the proem so well presents a comprehensive, progressive résumé of Theban glories, it must not be written off as mere preparatory foil. The proem determines how we shall view Strepsiades' victory: namely, as the most urgent of all these patriotic glories in which Theba delights.[58]

Pindar moves from the subject of Thebes' illustrious past to her most recent honor, Strepsiades' victory, through an emphatic reminder. Even the venerable glories of old would be forgotten if they were unsung (vv. 16-21).[59] The national and patriotic connection of Strepsiades' victory is unmistakable, for the words ἔπειτεν . . . καὶ clearly show that mention of the victory culminates the *priamel* and ends the Theban chronicle which comprises its terms. Strepsiades' victory is thus both compared and contrasted with the former Theban glories: compared in nature, but contrasted in immediacy. Like those ancient events, it needs poetic celebration if it is to be appreciated and remembered. The entire passage, then, elaborately states the χρέος-motif; [60] at the same time, Pindar magnifies Strepsiades' feat by attaching it to so glorious a list of events, and especially by presenting it as their culmination.

Pindar's specific praise of the victorious Strepsiades (vv. 21-23) follows very conventional lines. There are many parallels for the presentation of the victory, for Pindar's praise of the young pancratist's physical strength and beauty, and for the 'looks and deeds' doublet, that is, the comment that Strepsiades' ἀρετά is a match

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[57] Bundy I, 6, Schadewaldt 267.

[58] See Bundy I, 5, n. 18.

[59] If any suspicions still remain (see supra, p. 3) that παλαιὰ εὕδει χάρις might refer to Spartan ingratitude, the following parallels should lay them to rest: ἐγεῖραι παλαιὰν δόξαν (*Pyth.* 9.108f), ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν/ εὐκλέων ἔργων· ἐν ὕπνῳ γὰρ πέσεν (*Isthm.* 4.22f); cf. *Ol.* 8.74 and see Young 78, n. 2.

[60] So Schadewaldt 268; see especially his pp. 277f. Because it is better known, I use Schadewaldt's term "χρέος-motif" rather than his more generic terms "Sieg-Lied" motif (p. 294) or "Verplichtungsgedanke" (p. 279), to designate this important topic that he so brilliantly explicated.

for his φυά; [61] even the image used to denote the victor's current prominence (φλέγεται) is a commonplace.[62] But the very conventionality of a passage may often inform us of its peculiar point. So here it is important to note that, from the copious and varied subjects in the epinician repertoire of praise,[63] Pindar selects those of strength, comeliness, and *aretê*.

One more conventional element implicit in Pindar's praise of Strepsiades is the recognition of distinguished relatives. Indeed, it is the context of programmatic praise that makes mention of the fallen uncle appropriate and the extended passage on his heroic death possible; for recognition of the victor's distinguished relatives is itself a convention of the genre.[64] After commenting that the young Strepsiades "has given a common branch to his uncle of the same name," Pindar introduces the digression (as he often introduces myths) with a mere relative pronoun:

μάτρωϊ θ' ὁμονύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος,
χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν.[65]

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[61] See Thummer 29 (presentation of victory) and 46 (beauty and strength). For the "looks and deeds" doublet, cf. especially *Nem.* 3.18 (19 Schroeder-Snell numbering, which does not follow Boeckh's numbers for this poem), *Ol.* 8.19, and *Ol.* 9.101f (where the motif applied to the victor clearly echoes the same motif applied to the mythical hero, Opus, in vv. 70f); it is probably an (apparently playful but accurate) inversion of this theme that lies behind the famous *Isthm.* 4.49-55 and the problem of the little Herakles. The most striking parallel to *Isthm.* 7.22a-b is Simon. 149.3 (Bergk).

[62] See Croiset (supra, n. 51) 395 or Bowra 34.

[63] See Thummer's analysis (pp. 38-48) and especially his summary (pp. 46f).

[64] Thummer 50.

[65] Virtually all editors from Boeckh to Snell place an ordinary comma at the end of v. 25; Thummer has now used a full stop. I assume that there is no textual authority. There is, in fact, no textual nu-movable; we owe it to Boeckh. And before Boeckh, editors apparently placed a semicolon at the end of the verse (so Heyne and Thiersch [both supra, n. 26]; cf. the scholiast's paraphrase and most modern translations [Boeckh, Sandys, Puech, et al.]). Irrespective of conventional punctuation, I think the semicolon preferable. The question seems insignificant until one realizes that a weaker punctuation invites a misinterpretation of v. 26. Lattimore translates "though honor among good men is laid up against it." The context, Pindar's frequent use of ἀγαθός *fortis* (J. Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* [Leipzig 1883] s.v. ἀγαθός l.c.; cf. Tyrtaeus 9.20), and the syntax (cf. *Nem.* 7.63) all show that the ἀγαθοῖσι are the brave warriors themselves. In fact, *Isthm.* 7.26 is probably an occurrence of what Bowra (*Early Greek Elegists* [Cambridge Mass., 1938] 69) explicates as a "specialized use" of ἀγαθός, applied to a man who is not only "brave" but also "who has shown his

The themes and vocabulary of the digression prove to be surprisingly similar to those found throughout the battle exhortations of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, and in sepulchral poetry for fallen warriors.[66] The remarkable saturation of Pindar's language and ideas with those that occur in the two elegiac poets emerges fully only when their entire extant works are compared with *Isthmian* 7. A few striking similarities were mentioned above; but so that the sundry parallels may be seen at one viewing, I have arranged, in an appendix, those which seemed both immediately pertinent and adaptable to such a presentation. I shall concentrate here on a few key formulas in order to illustrate the nature of Pindar's subject and the manifold ideas that are associated with his phrases.

The most important idea, of course, is that Strepsiades died fighting πρὸ φίλας πάτρας. We may classify that general topic *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, whose antecedents go back as far as *Iliad* 15.496f, where Hector remarks, οὔ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν.[67] So the beginning of Tyrtaeus 6: τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα/ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον. A cheerier version of the formula allows the soldier both to perform his noble deed and to live. In Callinus 1.6ff we find: τιμῆέν τε

worth in battle" or even who is "dead in battle" (besides the passages from the historians which Bowra notes, cf. Simon. 4 [*PMG* 531]. 6). Yet in his *Pindar* Bowra translates Pindar's ἀγαθοῖσι as "noble" (p. 178) instead of "brave", and perverts the sentence into proof (p. 101, n. 2) of Pindar's concern "with the noble" as opposed to "humbler people" (p. 100); semantically, at least, *Isthm.* 7.26 has nothing to do with "a good breed" (on the same page [101], *Ol.* 7.10 should likewise be stricken from Bowra's list of "other victories won by his family," for it is in error).

[66] Because similar themes and vocabulary are found throughout Greek literature in various genres, I do not maintain that Pindar derives his phraseology directly from Tyrtaeus (both Schadewaldt 301, n. 1 and W. Jaeger, *Scripta Minora* [Rome 1960] II, 103 argue for Tyrtaeus' direct influence on Pindar, but neither relates any part of Tyrtaeus to *Isthm.* 7; I need not here choose a side in the controversy between Jaeger and Fraenkel [pp. 175, n. 9, 366, n. 33, 384-386] over the authenticity of Tyrtaeus 9, but Fraenkel's principal argument for its spuriousness, the excellence of the poem, is a strange one and well met by Jaeger). I merely use Tyrtaeus as the most obvious and prominent example for comparison. In general, I shall confine the evidence from sepulchral poetry, which is perhaps of equal importance, to the notes.

[67] The theme is so common and well known that I need not catalogue its occurrences and variations (such as *Iliad* 12.243, εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης). However, because the inscriptions, like *Isthm.* 7, apply the theme to a specific fallen warrior instead of giving a mere generic exhortation, I mention a few here: Peek 9.3; 14.2; 32.2 (ὃς περὶ τᾶς αὑτῶ γᾶς θάνε μαρνάμενος); cf. 7.3.

γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι/γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου/δυσμενέσιν. Callinus then elaborates a *mors et fugacem* theme (8-17), which leads into the *topos* of the warrior living and the warrior dead (18f): λαῷ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος καρτερόφρονος ἀνδρός/θνήσκοντος, ζώων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων. The theme of the *heros mortuus* and the *heros vivens* appears again in Tyrtaeus 6-7.29f: ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν/ ζωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών. And the fullest version of the same theme, Tyrtaeus 9.23-44, so extensively describes the rewards of the dead hero and of his living counterpart that it cannot be reproduced here.[68]

Characteristically, Pindar's treatment of these *topoi* is highly compressed but unmistakable. Although Strepsiades himself died in battle, Pindar, like Callinus, begins with the generic version (ὅστις . . . πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται, vv. 27f), and proceeds to the same *mortuus/vivens* theme, commenting that the patriotic warrior creates glory[69] whether he lives or dies: ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών (v. 30).

Pindar's next sentence apostrophizes the fallen Strepsiades,[70] and compares him to Meleager, Hector, and Amphiaraus. Scholars have vainly sought the common element, other than a military death, that links these famous warriors, but Meleager will not suit the theory that all died fighting a losing cause; nor did Amphiaraus die defending his country.[71] Since they assign Pindar the role of an extreme patriot here, scholars express surprise that Pindar should cite Amphiaraus as the model of a man who died fighting for Thebes;[72] for Amphiaraus, ironically, perished attacking

[68] See appendix. The theme of the warrior who will either survive victorious or die in battle, but never turn to flight, occurs elsewhere; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 475-479 (and the context there) with Peek 130.4.

[69] I have noted above (p. 6) the parallelism between Pindar's ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων (*Isthm.* 7.29) and Tyrtaeus' ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας (9.24). In the inscriptions cf. Peek 11.2 (σφετέραν εὐκλέισαν πατρίδα) and 12.12.

[70] Pindar elsewhere addresses one of the victor's relatives whom scholars consider recently deceased (e.g., *Nem.* 8.44), but see infra, p. 46 and E. Des Places, *Le pronom chez Pindare* (Paris 1947) 18.

[71] Mezger 302; for the Meleager-difficulty see supra, n. 8.

[72] The Amphiaraus-difficulty has the history of a major scholarly problem. Christ *ad loc.* well states the issues, and then, in desperation, suggests *suspicari licet Strepsiadem quoque vatem fuisse ideoque Amphiaraum vatem magno in honore habuisse.*" Fennell *ad loc.* rejects Bergk's emendation (infra, n. 74), but nevertheless thinks that "mention of the hero" must be

that very city.[73] Some editors think the anomaly so great that they even emend the text.[74] But *Nem.* 9.24-27 tells us precisely when (and why) the earth swallowed Amphiaraus upon the defeat of the Seven: before he could suffer the extreme disgrace, to be struck in the back by a spear while fleeing, another stock martial theme.[75] Pindar, then, apparently connects the three famous warriors because they all fell valiantly in the front line of battle;[76] they knew not the shame of flight.

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explained by a conjecture that Strepsiades "fell near Amphiarâos' shrine." Farnell eventually decides that Pindar "is never too precisely logical in his mythologic parallels" (I, 280f). Wilamowitz' explanation is hardly less desperate, but more insidious, for it becomes an interpretation of the poem and part of our supposed history of Thebes (*RE* V.A. 2.1462 ["die Stimmung in Theben nach der Schlacht . . ."]). In accounting for Amphiaraus, Wilamowitz remarks (pp. 412f) that he "ist aus dem Leben mit dem Wissen geschieden, dass sein Sohn siegreich werden würde. Welch ein Schatz war für die Hellenen ihre Heldensage: der eine Name genügt, Gedanken und Hoffnungen zu wecken, die auszusprechen sich nicht schickte." These hopes (that the next generation of Thebans will defeat Athens) are conspicuous in Wilamowitz' summary paraphrase of the poem: "'Theben, unser grosses Theben, ist niedergeschlagen. . . . —aber in tiefer Seele bergen wir *die Hoffnung auf Epigonen*'" (emphasis added).

Dissen (p. 538) even felt constrained to account for a Hector-difficulty (which he resolved by noting that there was a tradition that Hector was buried at Thebes).

[73] There is no difficulty in the fact that Amphiaraus was translated into another kind of life without actually dying an ordinary death. When he is swallowed alive by the earth, he is still missed as any other fallen warrior (Pind. *Ol.* 6.16). In Homer, Amphiaraus simply dies (an apparently ordinary death) in the battle: ὄλετ' ἐν θήβησι, θάνεν 'Αμφιάραος (*Od.* 15.247, 253). Some scholars assume that Amphiaraus was translated alive in the *Thebais*, but there is no evidence (see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, English transl. by W. Hillis [London 1925] 103).

[74] For 'Αμφιάρηόν τε Bergk read ἀν' 'Αμφιάρειον, which Mezger accepted and Bury revised to ἀμφ' 'Αμφιάρειον. J. Hartung, *Pindars Werke* IV (Leipzig 1856), got rid of the Amphiaraus-difficulty by replacing the name with ἀμφὶ πατρῴᾳ γᾷ.

[75] Tyrtaeus 8.17-20 (cf. 9.25f), *Iliad* 13.288-291, etc. It is tempting to seek the origin of the myth about Amphiaraus' subterranean engulfment in a development from such wishes as Diomedes expresses when explaining his reluctance to flee from battle: "Εκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων·/ 'Τυδεΐδης ὑπ' ἐμεῖο φοβούμενος ἵκετο νῆας.'/ὥς ποτ' ἀπειλήσει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών (*Iliad* 8.148ff).

[76] In Hesiod, Meleager clearly died fighting on behalf of his country, although it was Apollo who killed him on the battlefield (frag. 25.9-13 M-W); Pausanias says (10.31.4) that Phrynichus introduced the story of the fire-brand in a tragedy, but as if it already existed. J. Kakridis, in his otherwise careful study (*Homeric Researches* [Lund 1949] 11-42) virtually ignores all references to Meleager's traditional military prowess and death, the very characteristics on which Homer, Bacchylides, Pindar, and espe-

Such a solution to the Amphiaraus-difficulty is corroborated by the short phrase that opens the new strophe, προμάχων ἀν ὅμιλον. The bold enjambement [77] greatly accents this phrase, which becomes the high point of the entire sentence, and specifically completes the comparison of Strepsiades' to the three heroes. And the importance of the words themselves must have had an electrifying effect upon the Greek audience; for to die in the midst of the πρόμαχοι, the fore-fighters, is the poetic formula for achieving the perfect heroic act. The formulaic equivalents of Pindar's phrase are ubiquitous, not only in Tyrtaeus but also in sepulchral poetry, and their use well illustrates the crucial nature of *Isthm.* 7.35.[78] In Tyrtaeus 6-7 ἐν (μετὰ) προμάχοισι πεσών appears three times (1, 21, and 30), once with the theme *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, and once with the theme of the warrior dead and the warrior alive. The term appears twice more in Tyrtaeus 8 (4 and 12), and twice in Tyrtaeus 9 (16 and 23), where we find the same phrase, ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών, with φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν, a parallel to *Isthm.* 7.34.[79]

Earlier in this essay I pointed to the close similarity of ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος (*Isthm.* 7.36) to ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης (Tyrtaeus 9.22); [80] but there is one more sentence whose literary background deserves special notice. I refer to ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν (v. 37). Contrary to common opinion, Pindar does not here abandon his account of Strepsiades' heroism in order to inject his personality into the

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cially Hesiod concentrate. Even when the story of the fire-brand is present, however, Meleager may still die valiantly in battle (note ἐξεναρίζων in Bacch. 5.146).

[77] For comparably effective uses of enjambement cf. *Pyth.* 11.22, *Ol.* 2.105 (with which cf. Bacch. 1.124, *Isthm.* 4.55, and *Pyth.* 12.17).

[78] Homer uses the term πρόμαχοι passim (cf. *Batr.* 203, 253); Mimnermos 13.6 has ἀνὰ προμάχους. I mention the following from epitaphs in Peek: αὐτοὶ δ'ἐν προμάχοισι θάνον (7.4; cf. 12.10) ὅς ποτ' ἀριστεύων ἐν προμάχοισ[ι πέσεν] (36.2; cf. 169.1); see also infra, p. 25. A Latin equivalent is *in primis pugnantes cadunt* Sall. *Cat.* 60.6).

Further light is shed on the concept of the *promachos* (see *RE* s.v.), especially in Boeotia, by Pausanias, who mentions a cult statue of Herakles *promachos* in the Heracleion at Thebes, and reports that the Hermes *promachos* at Tanagra was thought to have led the epheboi against a group of attacking Euboeans and to have caused their rout (9.11.4; 9.22.2).

[79] The parallelism between *Isthm.* 7.34 and Tyrtaeus 9.23 is indicated by the variants in the epitaphs in Peek: πρὸ φίλης πνεῦμα ἔλιπες πατρίδος (21.6), ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον νεαρὰν ἥβην ὀλέσαντο (50.3), ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἥβην (8.1; cf. 9.3; 11.1). For Pindar's image cf. ἡλικίας ἄνθος ἔχων ἔθανεν (66.2 [non-military]). Homer has ἥβης ἄνθος (*Iliad* 13.484).

[80] Supra, p. 6. In general cf. Peek 14.3ff.

poem. In recalling his own mourning for the dead hero, the poet is not presenting an autobiographical fact, nor is he, for that matter, differentiating himself from other Theban citizens, such as those who composed the chorus.[81] The mourning and πόθος that the patriotic warrior's death elicits from each and every one of his townsmen is an integral theme of battle poetry, for universal mourning is traditionally the ultimate reward [82] of the fallen hero.

> τόνδ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες
> ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις (Tyrtaeus 9.27f)
> τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἤν τι πάθῃ.
> λαῷ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος, κτλ., [above, p. 21] (Callinus 1.17ff).

Indeed, if he had ignored the mourning that attended Strepsiades' death, Pindar would have left both the military topos and the eulogy of Strepsiades incomplete. In speaking of his πένθος οὐ φατόν, then, immediately after recording Strepsiades' heroic self-sacrifice, Pindar merely continues the martial themes upon which he has relied so heavily in the preceding thirteen verses.

It is evident that Pindar's eulogy of Strepsiades conforms closely to the themes and formulae of the traditional battle poetry. It is a comprehensive treatment of the subject, yet highly condensed. True to his habit, Pindar presents the chief points. The result is an epitome, as it were, of the *topos* of the ideal warrior such as we find in Tyrtaeus. There is, of course, this difference: Tyrtaeus' poetry offers a general exhortation to the abstract heroic ideal; Pindar's version suggests that Strepsiades achieved that ideal. Epigraphical versions of the same topic, which must observe an economy even greater than Pindar's, further indicate the formulaic and crucial nature of Pindar's few key phrases. An excellent example is the inscription on the base of an exceptionally handsome and idealized *kouros* from Anavyssos.[83] The *kouros* dates from the last half of the sixth century, and it is probable that Pindar, even as a youth, saw statues of the same kind. The inscription reads:

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[81] I am not agreeing with the scholiast (supra, n. 28) that the verb is an example of a "choral I," but merely noting its general application. An epigraphical version is ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆμος (Peek 12.9).

[82] The propriety of terming such mourning a 'reward' is proved by Solon 22.5f.

[83] Athens, National Museum, no. 3851 (= G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*[2] [London 1960] no. 136); supra, plate 1. The inscription is Peek 46.

στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον Κροίσου παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος,
ὅν ποτ' ἐνὶ προμάχοις ὤλεσε θοῦρος Ἄρης.

Despite its brevity, the affinities of this couplet to the battle elegy and to Pindar's passage are patent. The last three words equal Tyrtaeus 9.34 (θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ) and parallel *Isthm.* 7.25 (ᾧ πότμον Ἄρης ἔμειξεν). Moreover, since ἐνὶ προμάχοις is the one specific detail that the brief epitaph accommodates, the phrase, like Pindar's προμάχων ἀν ὅμιλον, must be the highlight.

Clearly, the handsome statue and its brief inscription were intended to idealize their subject as the model hero. What the sculptor, with his obvious attention to conventional detail,[84] did in his medium, Pindar has done in his. And the sculptor, through his artistic expertise and conventions, has no doubt enhanced Kroisos' physical beauty in order to emphasize and universalize it; so Pindar takes advantage of poetic devices, such as enjambement, and the literary associations of several well-known phrases in order to represent Strepsiades' patriotic self-sacrifice as a kind of absolute heroism that is always of the same quality—whether in Pindar's day, in those olden days when Callinus and Tyrtaeus codified it, or in the heroic age of Hector, Meleager, and Amphiaraus, who here exemplify it in myth. Our frustration in trying to identify the pertinent battle is at least partly caused by the very fact that Pindar so idealizes Strepsiades' heroism that he carefully omits the topical data that have consumed our interest.

Later we shall inquire further into the cause of this idealized treatment of Strepsiades' death; since several exegetical questions remain unresolved, I shall continue with the analysis. The change of subject, already foreshadowed by the first person verb, ἔτλαν, is clearly marked by the words that introduce the next sentence, ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι.[85] The elder Strepsiades is not wholly forgotten, for the new topic, the joy of the younger Strepsiades' victory, arises from its contrast with the uncle's mournful death, for which the victory offers compensation.[86] The balanced contrast is accented by the citizen-poet's interest in both events, and by his use of vivid

[84] See Miss Richter's comments (supra, n. 83) on the authenticity of the statue (p. 118) and her general statement on the conventionality of the kouroi (pp. 1-6).

[85] See Schadewaldt 300, n. 6; the words imply not only contrast but also a climax (cf. Bundy I, n. 50, II, n. 3, p. 49).

[86] See Thummer 67, 79f ("5"), 148.

imagery: ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι/Γαιάοχος εὐδίαν ὄπασσεν/ἐκ χειμῶνος (37ff). Pindar is fond of representing a family's change from bad to good fortune with an image of foul weather turning fair. Bundy and others have well documented this theme and discussed the pertinent passages.[87] Of especial significance to the interpretation of *Isthmian* 7 is *Isthm.* 4.15-19; for there, as in *Isthm.* 7.37, the foul weather is a metaphor for military death in the family, and fair weather represents the athletic victory of the patron:

15 χαλκέῳ τ' Ἄρει ἄδον.
ἀλλ' ἁμέρᾳ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ
τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων
17b ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.
νῦν δ' αὖ μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον χθὼν ὥτε φοινικέοισιν ἄνθησεν ῥόδοις
δαιμόνων βουλαῖς.

The parallelism confirms the interpretation that makes πένθος refer to the mourning of Strepsiades' death, not to some grieving over political circumstances or military defeat. The connection between πένθος and χειμῶνος is unmistakable in *Isthmian* 7; since χειμέριον in *Isthmian* 4 indisputably refers to the relatives' deaths, one cannot ignore—or even play down—the uncle's death in favor of arcane subjects when explaining χειμῶνος and πένθος in *Isthmian* 7.

Moreover, the storm-imagery that Pindar uses as an expression for battle in *Isthm.* 7.27a (νεφέλᾳ χάλαζαν αἵματος) has a virtual doublet in the image of *Isthm.* 4.17a, which anticipates the image of *Isthm.* 4.18. This parallelism suggests that *Isthm.* 7.27 and 38f, like their counterparts in *Isthmian* 4, partake in a unified pattern of imagery, despite their distance from one another. Since that imagery appears at both the beginning and the end, it not only makes the digression on the uncle's death more vivid but also emphasizes its structural integrity.

Thus the two heroic kinsman with the common name, Strepsiades, share a kinship even in the poetic imagery. The pleasant side of that imagery, the fair weather, Strepsiades' victory, now receives Pindar's principal attention; and his reference to song and to the wearing of garlands in v. 39 explicitly creates a festal, epinician

[87] Bundy II, 48-52, Bowra 249ff, M. Bernard, *Pindars Denken in Bildern* (Pfullingen 1963) n. 40, Thummer 146.

mood.[88] Into that joyous mood, there is immediately injected the deprecatory hope that divine *phthonos* not disturb it (ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων/ μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.)[89] A wish that prosperity continue undisturbed is one of the most formulaic themes in all of the epinician genre.[90] It provides a reminder of the instability of human fortune; but, more importantly, it serves as a reminder of the extremely precious nature of good fortune, often, as here, that embodied in the victory.[91] The form and vocabulary of this formulaic reminder in *Isthmian* 7 are stock in every way, and the end of v. 39 neither implies a specific anxiety nor requires a specific justification.[92] Its functions are not

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[88] While there has been a question, ever since the scholiast, whether the garlanded head belongs to the victor or to the singer (the Greek suggests the latter), the festal intent of the phrase is clear. No doubt many attending the celebration wore chaplets.

[89] I follow the text and punctuation (φθόνος. ὅ τι) that had seemingly become standard (Bergk, T. Mommsen [ed.], *Pindari carmina* [Berlin 1864], Christ, Bury, Schroeder [supra, n. 49], Turyn, Bowra [supra n. 48]) until Snell (supra, n. 48), followed by Thummer, replaced the full stop with a comma and read ὅτι for ὅ τι. Both readings are attested by a scholiast (55b: infra, p. 30). The Snell reading was obviously the Aristarchan (schol. 55a), but Aristarchus' gloss, εἰ, for ὅτι (cf. Wilamowitz 413) gives a thought that is un-Pindaric and hardly archaic Greek (that the gods' *phthonos* might especially be aroused *because* a man was pursuing the delight of the day "μεθ' ἡσυχίας"); for an alternative view of the Aristarchus-Snell text, see infra, n. 92. Farnell *ad loc.* recommends a reading (cf. Heyne [supra, n. 26], Boeckh, Hartung [supra, n. 74], Mezger *ad loc.*, Fennell, Puech) that is not attested by the scholiast, φθόνος ὅ τι, claiming that ταράσσω cannot be used absolutely and requires an object (viz. ὅ τι); but ταράσσω is used absolutely (LSJ *s.v.* I.2 end; Aesch. *Cho.* 289, Ar. *Ach.* 621, Pind. *Pyth.* 11.42 [so also Wilamowitz 261, n. 2] when the implied object is either intentionally vague or easily supplied. The standard text as given by Turyn is almost certainly correct. The proof is in the very nature of such apotropaic prayers, which are consistently brief and to the point, and even tend toward the parenthetical, as our formula of knocking on wood (for the examples see Young 93, n. 3). Cf. also *Pyth.* 10, 19ff: τῶν δ'ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν/λαχόντες οὐκ ὀλίγαν δόσιν, μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν/μετατροπίαις ἐπικύρσαιεν (for which see R. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* [Oxford 1962] 5).

[90] See Young 93, n. 3, which shows that the convention even has its own vocabulary.

[91] Most scholars make a mistake by ignoring the second of these purposes and concentrating on the first whenever Pindar recognizes vicissitude or the possible impermanence of the victor's good fortune. See, however, Schadewaldt 288f (n.b. "die übersteigerte Wertung des Sieges"), Thummer 79f ("5"). Since these prayers emphasize the current fortune, they may be regarded as praise and amplification of the happiness of victory (i.e., Thummer Chap. V). For the function of these expressions within the general scope of Pindaric prayers see Bundy II, 78ff.

[92] Wilamowitz (who obviously read φθόνος, ὅτι before Snell) apparently thinks Pindar anxious that the gods might begrudge his enjoyment of an

significantly different from those of the comparable self-contained formula that we use in recognition of prosperity, 'touching' or 'knocking on wood.' Indeed, the conditions under which we apply the formula of knocking on wood help to clarify Pindar's words.

Everything in the entire strophe (vv. 35-39b), then, can and should be readily understood in the terms and themes of the epinician genre. There is no need or justification for seeking recondite explanations of the passage nor for extorting from it Pindaric recriminations of Athens. Moreover, everything in the passage can, even should, be referred to the Strepsiadae. The poet (or any other) has entered the context only through his connection with and interest in the Strepsiadae. The Strepsiadae and their fortunes remain the principal subject of discourse throughout.

If, as the standard interpretation of vv. 40ff has it, Pindar suddenly blurts out, into a context so saturated with thoughts of the Strepsiadae, that he himself is old and ready to die, while Athens is doomed, we must charge him not only with the "abrupt shift" that Bowra sees here but also with a kind of *para prosdokian* and, I think, even with *bathos*.[93] We have already seen, however, that the words ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα do not imply old age and impending death in the speaker; rather they specify the indefinite limit of an entire lifetime.

Moreover, serious exegetical difficulties occur if we refer vv. 40-42 primarily to Pindar.[94] Thummer has recently argued that

athletic victory during such great national sorrow as that after Oenophyta (p. 413); Thummer translates the Aristarchus-Snell ὅτι with "weil" (against Wilamowitz' "wenn"). I am not certain what causal relationship is thus indicated (it is not elucidated by Thummer 67f); apparently Pindar justifies (ὅτι) the prayer of v. 39 by noting that "der Mensch" (see infra, n. 97), having achieved the happiness of victory, proceeds quietly to old age without further ambition that might bring down the divine *phthonos* [?]. Thummer's is clearly the best interpretation of the Aristarchus-Snell text, but no such justification of the formulaic prayer is needed. The prayer of v. 39 is complete and self-contained (supra, nn. 89ff).

93 The traditional interpretation (e.g. Bowra 351) of these verses is at least consistent; for such a sudden, incongruous personal remark on Pindar's age and forthcoming death could hardly be attributed to anything other than the irrational lapses into egoism that often accompany a doddering senility.

94 There can be little doubt but that vv. 40-44a are connected in thought and contextually coherent: i.e., the conditional sentence (vv. 43f) arises out of the philosophical reflections of vv. 40-43, and τὰ μακρὰ δ'εἴ τις παπταίνει contrasts with ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων. If the main reference of vv. 40-42 is to Pindar, v. 44a proves a conspicuous anomaly among the many

v. 44a is, like any other of its Pindaric congeners, an instance of the encomiastic "*ne plus ultra*" theme, suggesting that the victory represents the extreme of human achievement, beyond which no one can go.[95] If so, the development of thought from an autobiographical statement in vv. 40-42 to the encomiastic comment in v. 44a would be so obscure as to cause utter despair. I think Thummer right, that v. 44a does relate to the ordinary *ne plus ultra* topos.[96] But Thummer gingerly avoids the difficulty of the personal reference of vv. 40 ff; [97] and, although the *ne plus ultra* theme plays a noteworthy role, it is certainly less emphasized and more subtly presented in *Isthmian* 7 than elsewhere.[98] Thus the autobiographical comment would be so intrusive and cryptic as to be almost unthinkable, but the *ne plus ultra* theme is so underplayed that, as scholars have always assumed, the main thematic development of vv. 40-51 must concern something else.

We are now, I think, prepared to hear a scholiast whose remarkable comment has, so far as I can determine, been quite ignored.[99]

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passages that explicitly designate heaven, the area beyond the pillars of Herakles, or some other fabulous place as inaccessible. The other examples occur in contexts unquestionably associated with the patron, not with the poet; and their principal literary function is to indicate that the patron has reached the utmost in achievement, beyond which no human can go.

Pillars: *Ol.* 3.45-48, *Isthm.* 4.9-13, *Nem.* 3.18ff; other terrestrial limits: *Nem.* 9.47, *Pyth.* 10.28-31 (cf. the image of *Isthm.* 6.9-11b); heaven: (*Isthm.* 7.44a), *Pyth.*, 10.27. These are variants within a spatial category of a more general topic of human limitation, which has other sub-forms, such as man's inability to become a god: *Isthm.* 5.15-18, *Ol.* 5.23ff; the universality of death: *Nem.* 11.13-16 (cf. *Isthm.* 7.42, *Nem.* 7.19f, 30f); the impossibility of perfect good fortune for mortals: *Nem.* 7.55-58, *Pyth.* 3.84-89, *Pyth.* 5.54, Bacch. 5.53ff, etc. See, in general, Thummer 67-81 (summary: 77-80) and my comments on the *consolatio* (Young 50-54).

[95] Thummer 117.

[96] The proof is in the concise statement of human differentiation (δαίμων δ' ἄϊσος), a notion crucial to the encomiastic *ne plus ultra* theme, but difficult to account for, in *Isthm.* 7.43, apart from that theme.

[97] Thummer's vague "der Mensch" (67,117), while much less misleading than the usual interpretation, is so obscure that it primarily confuses, and it conspicuously ignores the question of the first person.

[98] The indefinite protasis, εἴ τις κτλ., makes the laudatory function of v. 44a much less immediate than in comparable passages, where the application of the *ne plus ultra* theme to the patron is made explicit. Moreover, *Isthm.* 7.43f participate in other tangible themes, such as that of the near and the far, whence arises the contrast between τὰ μακρά and ἐφάμερον (see Young 116).

[99] Schol. 55b (cf. Schol. *Pyth.* 9, 161 [Dr. II, 236]). I reproduce the scholium in full, for I am not aware of any mention in Pindaric scholarship of the scholiast's provocative assertion of a possibility that the sentence is spoken

ἢ οὕτως· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν φθόνος μὴ συνθραυέτω, ὅτι ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἥσυχος καὶ πρᾷος ὢν μετὰ ἡσυχίας καταγηράσκω, καὶ παραγίνομαι εἰς τὸν μεμοιραμένον χρόνον. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ τὸ φθόνος θῶμεν τὴν τελείαν, ἔσται ὁ νοῦς τοιοῦτος· εἴθε, ὅπερ τερπνὸν, ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας μεταδιώκων καὶ δεξάμενος μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἐπί τε τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὸν μεμοιραμένον χρόνον παραγενοίμην. καὶ ἔσται ὁ λόγος ὡς παρὰ τοῦ νικηφόρου, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὡς παρὰ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ προσώπου.

If we found a decision about the reference of vv. 40ff on a study of the remainder of the poem, that scholium and, especially, Fraenkel [100] are upheld. I prefer to regard the passage as spoken in the first person indefinite (which does not refer exclusively to any person) rather than strictly παρὰ τοῦ νικηφόρου προσώπου. Indeed, it is not difficult to see how vv. 40ff could apply to several people, such as Pindar, the elder Strepsiades, the chorus, and the victor's father.[101] But, as will soon become apparent, the import of vv. 40-51 clearly suggests that their primary point of reference is the young victor himself.

The verses in question express the philosophy of an easy-going

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in the *persona* of the victor (Lefkowitz [supra, n. 21], pp. 227f argues against a choral *persona* in v. 37 [schol. 51a] but she ignores schol. 55b). The way that we have distributed our interest in scholia is incredible. If this same scholiast had instead written that once upon a time, while wandering in the mountains, Pindar had had a vision of Bellerophon, and the hero had warned him against trying to fly up into the sky, most Pindar books would dutifully record the fact, not a few would view the vision as an explanation of the passage, and some would even date the vision (see Young 47f). We habitually write the scholiasts off as bungling fools in matters of language (when they were native speakers of Greek) and of literary convention (when they had much more extant literature), yet we will embrace any idiocy that they can phrase, if it will serve a topical or biographical purpose (when they probably had, in these respects, less precise information than we [see Young 107, n. 1]).

[100] Supra, p. 11. For the question of punctuation, see supra, n. 89.

[101] As a poet-commentator, as a Theban citizen interested in the Strepsiadae, and perhaps even as an individual, Pindar may here cast his vote for the nonexpectant life that pursues the delight of the day (Lefkowitz 227f). Insofar as such phrases as ἐς τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα and θνᾴσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες have any application to Strepsiades the elder, they honor and console him within the terms of Callinus 1.8-15 and the theme *mors et fugacem persequitur virum*, etc. (the business of the day in Callinus 1.8ff differs from that in *Isthm.* 7.40, but the idea of a day to day concern, without anxiety for the future, is the same). The father of Strepsiades the younger might well find special meaning in Pindar's phrases (cf. *Isthm.* 6.9-14, etc.), but we know nothing of the father. For the possibility of multiple application in the first-person indefinite (which may also include people in general) see Young 58ff.

life (ἕκαλος), one that pursues gratifications as they arise, day by day, one by one (ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων),[102] without much regard for what lies beyond the current concern. It is a kind of *carpe diem* philosophy, which often finds its justification in the universality of death (θνᾴσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες) and the uncertainty of the future. The folly of pursuing the distant future is implied in τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις παπταίνει . . ., where τὰ μακρά clearly contrasts with ἐφάμερον.[103] But the image shifts from the temporal to the spatial in v. 44a,[104] and then leads into the Bellerophon-exemplum. Because of the contrast between such words as ἐφάμερον and μακρά, Bellerophon's negative example confirms the philosophy expressed in vv. 40ff, and gives rise to the moral about the eventual bitterness of the improper pleasure (τὸ πὰρ δίκαν γλυκύ).[105]

Up to this point, then, the entire passage is a general examination of human pursuits, and the continuity of that subject is accented by the clear connection between τερπνόν (v. 40) and γλυκύ (v. 48).

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[102] Despite the prominence of Fraenkel's article (*Wege und Formen* [supra, n. 36] 23-39; cf. *TAPA* 77 [1946] 131-145) and Fennell's warning *ad loc.*, a reminder that ἐφάμερον means 'daily' is apparently in order; for LSJ gives "short-lived" for this passage, and Lattimore translates "fleeting."

[103] The uncertainty of the future is not expressed, but merely implied in the contrast between ἐφάμερον and τὰ μακρὰ . . . βραχύς (i.e., the second of Bowra's interpretations of v. 43 [p. 351: "destiny is incalculable"—as if he were still reading ἄϊστος] does not consort with the universally accepted text, ἄϊσος, nor with the usual interpretation ["different destinies": Bowra 154]).

Although we cannot concurrently accept both readings in v. 43, we may nevertheless note how Pindar may develop a multiple theme; and it is the thematic complexity of vv. 40-44 that renders them so difficult to describe analytically. Vv. 40f contribute both to the previous theme, the joy of the present victory (Thummer 67f, cf. 78, "3"), and to the theme of the easy-going, not greatly-expectant attitude that is explained in the final two stanzas. Both θνᾴσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες and δαίμων δ' ἄϊσος contribute to an understated version of the encomiastic *ne plus ultra* theme (supra, nn. 94ff) that is expressed in conjunction with the major theme, the superiority of immediate concerns over those that are far off. Thus the theme of the near and the far (see Young 116) serves as a foundation for the other themes.

[104] Thummer 117.

[105] For the syntax of βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι cf. *Nem.* 10.19 (p. 146 of Lattimore's translation contains so many serious errors [see also nn. 65, 102 supra—and there are several more] that it should not be used by those who do not know Greek; for they cannot fail to misinterpret the poem if they think that Pindar says, "If one look afar, short is the way seen to reach the bronze-paved citadel of the gods"). For the thought of τὸ πὰρ δίκαν κτλ. cf. Solon 1.7f.

If we pay careful attention to the philosophy that the passage commends and refer it to the subject of the poem (κώμαζ' ἔπειτεν ... καὶ Στρεψιάδᾳ, vv. 20f) rather than to its author, there are gratifying results: the final sentence, a simple prayer for a victory at the Pythian games, comes not as "another abrupt shift," a "Nachtrag," or anti-climax of any kind,[106] but as the natural culmination of the passage. The prayer, which obviously implies that the Pythian games are the next significant contest in which Strepsiades will compete, is consistent, from the young athlete's point of view, with the philosophy of pursuing delights one at a time.[107] The

[106] Because of his political-autobiographical interpretation of vv. 37-48, Wilamowitz regards vv. 49-51 as unrelated to their context and terms the prayer a "Nachtrag" (p. 411). Since Bowra is certain (to a truly amazing degree—see Young 7, n. 4) that vv. 44-48 prove that "Bellerophon is a symbol for Athens in her reckless ambitions, and Pindar is sure that she will fall in a terrible crash" (p. 154), he regards the final prayer as "another abrupt shift" (p. 351). Indeed most scholars, if they do not ignore it entirely, regard the final sentence as a rather impertinent, insignificant programmatic necessity, and apparently the astute Fraccaroli (p. 712) alone (but cf. Bundy II, 80) perceives how the prayer develops out of the philosophical comments of vv. 40ff.

[107] If we remember that we are dealing with extreme probability rather than certain fact, we may even regard the Pythian games as Strepsiades' actual present (ἐφάμερος) concern, for which he was in active training when the poem was performed. If *Isthm.* 7 was composed within any reasonable time (e.g., within a year) after the Isthmian victory, it is correct to assume (with Wilamowitz 411, Fennell *ad.* v. 49, et al.) that the victory occurred in a second, rather than fourth, Olympiad year; for a wish for a victory in Pythian games approximately two years away, if not unlikely in itself, ill suits a context that censures τὰ μακρὰ παπταίνειν. Thus 456 (Bowra 69, Fennell, Méautis 275, et al.), the first Isthmian year after Oenophyta—which Bowra (supra, n. 49) rejects for an invalid reason—is hardly a conceivable date anyway.

The Isthmian games at which Strepsiades was victorious and the Pythian games in which he will next compete are separated, then, by only about three months (for the sequence of the festivals see, e.g., Norwood 27f or Christ's chapter on the games, which cites sources). We have no knowledge of the time required for such things as the commission, composition, delivery, and rehearsal of an epinician. Obviously, the more time we allot to these matters, the closer the first performance of *Isthm.* 7 approaches the date of the Pythian festival mentioned in its conclusion. The festival may have been due within a week or two; it can hardly have been much more than two months distant. In any case, the approaching Pythian contest is clearly so near that vv. 49ff have a special meaning within the context of vv. 40-48.

Seldom are we able to calculate, with such probability and such precision, the lapse of time between a victory and its epinician. In view of the way scholars frequently postpone the date of the epinician performance to fit

desired Pythian success is a modest and immediate enough concern, especially when contrasted with Bellerophon's high-flying schemes. Bellerophon's attempt on heaven reflects τὰ μακρὰ παπταίνειν. A hope for success in the immediately upcoming contest reflects ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκειν; and the connection is virtually explicit, since the word τερπνόν has a special value in the epinicians, often connoting "athletic victory." [108] Thus, in the philosophy that vv. 40-48 develop, the prayer for a Pythian victory illustrates proper aspiration just as surely as Bellerophon's attempt exemplifies improper aspiration. And since the conventional [109] wish for another victory is so significantly incorporated into the thematic development of the last two stanzas, it becomes their natural resolution and provides also a fitting and worthy conclusion to the whole ode.

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an imposed chronology, the speed with which *Isthm.* 7 follows its victory should be noted.

[108] For Pindar's frequent use of τερπνόν as a word for "victory" see Burton (supra, n. 89) 6 with n. 2, 190.

[109] Cf. *Pyth.* 5.124, *Isthm.* 6.6 ff, *Isthm.* 1.64-67, and others (see Bundy, II, 79f).

CHAPTER THREE

MYTH AND EXEMPLA

The preceding analysis resolves many of the difficulties of *Isthmian* 7, but some major questions remain. First, if we cannot be confident that the poem represents a time of Theban affliction, why does the proem so dwell on the glories of Thebes' past? [110] Moreover, scholars have assumed that the poet tells of the uncle's death primarily because he is personally preoccupied with the relevant battle and its issues; inasmuch as Pindar gives virtually no details of the battle or of its issue, is that assumption justified? Could there be another reason for the poem's centering on the uncle's valiant death? [111] And most importantly, we are accustomed to view Pindar's supposed reflections on the defeat at Oenophyta as the very purport of the poem; if the poem does not express Pindar's anxiety for Thebes, his opposition to Athens, and his resignation to his own fate, what, then, is the meaning of the ode? These are important questions that deserve answers. I should like to approach them, however, by broaching yet another subject, that of Pindar's myths; for several scholars have remarked that the digression on the uncle's death "takes the place of the myth." [112]

[110] I raise this question only because so many scholars imply it (Boeckh 531: *Afflictae Thebae sunt*; *eo magis decebat prisca urbis decora extolli, qua in re prooemium versatur*; cf. Puech 66, n. 1; cf. Fennell II, 200, Finley 112, 157, Wolde [supra, n. 6] 352, Bowra 327, 350, Méautis 276, etc.). But the question has no legitimacy, and is merely trumped up as a prop to the Oenophyta-interpretation, which is weak on all sides. We do not ask the same question about *Nem.* 10.1-18, which is very similar to the proem in *Isthm.* 7, nor about *Ol.* 7, *Ol.* 9, or *Ol.* 13. If, in fact, we viewed every poem that dwells on the past glories of the victor's city as composed in a time of affliction, the epinician would be one of the saddest, rather than most festive of genres.

[111] If another reason is to be found, the precise date of the battle would give us little more than a *terminus post quem* for the date of the poem; the Isthmian victory might have occurred a decade or more after the battle.

[112] Lattimore 160, Fraccaroli 712, et al. Very few commentators consider the proem "the myth" of *Isthm.* 7 (Schadewaldt 267 uses the term, but see his own comments on 268f where he argues that the digression on Strepsiades displaces the normal myth-catalogue). Christ somehow thought that *Isthm.* 7 (and all epinicians for Thebans) lacked a myth (*fabula*) because Pindar had so exhausted Theban mythology in other genres that nothing new remained for the epinicians.

Indeed, in most of the epinicians, Pindar appears to digress from his immediate topic, celebration of the victory, to elaborate a mythical subject. Scholars concur on some elementary points: "the myth," as we tend to call it, usually occupies a central position in the ode; many of the myths appear in ring form; most are introduced by a mere relative word.[113] The fundamental cause of a few myths remains much disputed, but there has not been utter disagreement about the function of Pindaric myths in general. Critics have noted that the myths may serve a programmatic purpose, extolling some subject connected with the victor, such as his genealogy or city. Most scholars have argued that many myths, whether they arise from the program or not, function as paradigms or exempla to illustrate some contemporary subject, usually, but not necessarily, pertaining to the victor.[114]

Nevertheless, with respect to specific myths, widespread scholarly agreement seems to be limited to a few myths that may be classed as positive exempla. The clearest instance of such positive paradigm occurs in *Pythian* 6, where Pindar explicitly illustrates (vv. 28-41) the filial devotion of Thrasyboulos, the victor's son, by telling the story of Antilochus.[115] On the battlefield of Troy, Antilochus sacrificed his own life in order to save the life of Nestor, his father. Most exempla of this kind are not so explicit, but they may be clearly implied. Thus Gildersleeve, van Groningen, Burton and others note that the mythical land of the North in *Pythian* 10, Hyperborea, is intended as a glorified version of the real land of the North, the victor's homeland, Thessaly.[116] Similarly, S. L. Radt and others have plausibly argued that the prodigious Herakles of *Nemean* 1 is an archetype of Chromius, the victor.[117] Yet if we

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[113] Central position: Croiset (supra, n. 51) 361ff, Schadewaldt 269, Bowra 282; relative: Des Places (supra, n. 70) 48ff, Thummer 133ff (with n. 117), B. Gildersleeve (ed.), *Pindar, Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1885) 131 with 394; ring-composition: Fraccaroli 385, 136, Illig 57-65 and passim, Bowra 310f (and cf. van Groningen, *In the grip of the past* [Leiden 1953] 44f).

[114] Most critics (even those who regard the myth as irrelevant) from Boeckh to Bowra make this assumption and derive interpretations from it (see, e.g., Bowra 292-297).

[115] B. A. van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaïque grecque*[2] [Amsterdam 1960] 344f.

[116] Gildersleeve (supra, n. 113) 350, van Groningen (supra, n. 115) 350, Burton (supra, n. 89) 8.

[117] Radt, "Pindars erste Nemeische Ode," *Mnemosyne* (4th S.) 19 (1966)

regard every myth as a strict allegory of a contemporary subject, we repeat the cardinal mistake that spawned the infamous interpretations of the nineteenth century.[118] Those failures contributed greatly to the reaction, in the first quarter of this century, against the notion that the myths are illustrative exempla, and even gave rise to a prevalent belief, whose influence is still strong, that Pindaric myths are, in general, wholly irrelevant, rambling digressions in fact as well as in form.[119] This belief was shaken, although not dispelled, by the two careful and useful monographs of Illig and Fehr. The former, especially, clearly demonstrated the falsity of the then prevalent view of Pindaric "Willkür," and it well formulated the issues connected with the study of Pindaric mythical paradigms.[120] But Illig, unfortunately, became so engrossed in the subject of *Ringkomposition* that he rather neglected the paradigmatic study that he himself proposed; a comprehensive study of Pindaric paradigm has yet to be written. In his recent and important work, Erich Thummer has reaffirmed the functional and organic nature of the myths, contending that they are designed to praise the victor or some cause connected with him. But Thummer avoids the pitfall of allegory by ridding himself of the unwarranted biographical preoccupation that has plagued Pindaric scholarship for centuries. While not emphasizing the role of myths as paradigms,[121] he persuasively derives the diverse myths from the several elements of the epinician program, such as praise of the victor, his family, his country, his athletic event, or of the relevant festival.[122]

Thummer's careful work, which continues and complements the genre-studies of Schadewaldt and Bundy, is an invaluable aid, at least from a formal point of view. But Thummer is inclined to

148-174, Illig 20, scholia *ad Nem.* 1.49b, Finley 125ff; Bowra 306 (contra Wilamowitz 255f).

[118] See Young, "Pindaric Criticism²" (supra, n. 55) 9, 43, Young *Three Odes* 8, n. 1 (and, for twentieth-century equivalents, p. 7).

[119] See Young, "Pindaric Criticism²" (supra, n. 55) 44-58 passim.

[120] Illig 5-11; but after his first example (*Nem.* 1), Illig seldom pursues the application of the "Sinngebung" of the myth to any actual circumstance relative to an epinician. Fehr (*Die Mythen bei Pindar* [Zürich 1936]) is concerned, in the main, with sources and variants.

[121] Only on a few occasions (e.g., p. 45, "wird [Aristomenes] mit Alkmaion . . . verglichen," p. 113, "gehört das mythische Beispiel in das Lob der Familie des Siegers") does Thummer speak in the terminology of exempla, but the concept of a paradigm is implicit throughout his categories.

[122] Thummer 110-120.

relate the myths too narrowly to the program, and cannot well explain myths or paradigms that are not mere elaborations of a neat programmatic point. For example, the little Oresteia in *Pythian* 11 is clearly a story of discord, jealousy, murder, and revenge. One therefore has difficulty regarding it in the category where Thummer must cast it: 'praise of the Pythian games.' [123]

I have recently offered a solution to the vexed question of the murders and anxieties in the myth of *Pythian* 11, suggesting that the little Oresteia illustrates the undesirable nature of the often coveted life of wealth and political power.[124] Such a function for the myth well suits the rest of the poem, especially the famous and crucial vv. 53ff. That passage, if read without biographical prejudice, does not defend Pindar against charges of loyalty to tyrants; rather it exalts, over tyranny, a moderate political rank, to which—the context suggests—the victor belongs. The Oresteia-myth thus praises the victor's way of life by contrasting with it, and can be termed negative paradigm. We have been so slow to recognize its function because we have been prejudiced. We have examined myths only for positive paradigm.[125] Yet *Olympian* 1 clearly reveals positive and negative exempla side by side. Pelops' successful race, on Olympian soil, against Hippodameia's father is a forerunner of Hieron's own Olympic victory; further parallels are suggested by phraseology.[126] However, the slothful gluttony of

[123] Thummer 112.

[124] See Young 1-26.

[125] Only the myth of *Pyth.* 2 seems to receive recognition as a negative paradigm: G. Hermann, *Opuscula* (Leipzig 1827-1839) VII, 117, Illig 7f; cf. R. Oehler, *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (Aarau 1926) 61f, Schadewaldt 329, Thummer 121.

The principal function of a paradigm may be descriptive or paraenetic; i.e., it may illustrate and thus commend an existing situation (as in *Pyth.* 6 or Bacch. 3 [infra, p. 44] or it may urge a course of action (as the exempla of Meleager and of Niobe in *Iliad* 9.524-605 and 24.601-619, respectively). Although there need not always be a clear distinction between the two functions, the encomiastic nature of the epinician conforms with exempla that are primarily descriptive. It is reasonable to assume, then, that negative paradigms, such as that in *Pyth.* 11, commend the patron's current circumstances *per contrarium*. It is far less likely that the paradigm censures the patron or seeks to dissuade him from improper action. The question whether a paradigm is descriptive or paraenetic has often been crucial to Pindaric interpretation; yet it has been raised only by implication and has not received the systematic study that it deserves.

[126] Not only are Pelops and Hieron comparable in their victorious Olympian horse-racing (*contra* Hermann [supra, n. 125] VI, 38: for the fusion of the race-motif with the motif of the rape of the bride in the Pelops-myth

Tantalus, whose myth appears in the center of the ode, is the opposite of the active heroism of Pelops, and he therefore contrasts with Hieron, providing a negative exemplum.[127]

Myth as negative exemplum, however, is merely one of several possibilities that we tend to ignore. If we can revise, in some other respects, our narrow and one-sided view of Pindaric paradigm, I think that we can resolve the important questions about *Isthmian* 7 that were posed above. Specifically, I want to examine the possibility that the structural digression which we commonly call "the myth" need not, in every case, be what we call "mythical." [128] It is obvious why scholars have felt that the digression on the uncle's death "takes the place of the myth"; for the formal similarities between vv. 25-37 and the myths are fundamental and provocative. The digression on the uncle's heroism is introduced by a mere relative pronoun; it occupies the central portion of the ode; it displays a kind of ring-composition, for it both begins and concludes with specific mention of Strepsiades' death in battle. If the digression is, indeed, *in loco mythi* and has such crucial points in common with Pindaric myths, we ought to consider the possibility of a functional similarity; that is, does the Strepsiades-digression serve as an exemplum to illustrate and enhance the feat of the younger Strepsiades?

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see Kakridis, "Des Pelops und Iamos Gebet bei Pindar," *Hermes* 63 [1928] 415-422) but also in their prominence as kings (n.b. βασιλεύς in v. 23). Pelops' paradigmatic value in this respect is further enhanced by his position as the model for the concept of "king": οὐδ' εἰ Ταντα λίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη (Tyrtaeus 9.7). Thus the following verbal connections between Hieron and the mythical hero (some making direct comparisons, others more subtle) merely confirm and develop an inherent paradigmatic relationship. 1) λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ (vv. 23f): τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος (vv. 93f); 2) δρέπων κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἄπο πασᾶν (v. 13): τὰ κέ τις . . . ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος (vv. 82bff): μή τιν' ἀμφότερα καλῶν κτλ. (v. 104); 3) ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ (v. 14f) . . . παρ' Ἀλφεῷ (v. 20) . . . κράτει προσέμειξε δεσπόταν (22): κράτει δὲ πέλασον (v. 78) . . . νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις ἀγλααῖσι μέμεικται, Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς (vv. 90ff). For further connections between Pelops and Hieron see Young 112, n. 1, 123.

127 See Young *ibid.*; so contrast between Hieron and Tantalus is suggested even by phraseology: with ἔχει δ' ἀπάλαμον βίον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον (v. 59) cf. ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν (vv. 97f). Thus *Ol.* 1, Tantalus and Pelops, should be added to the category "Gegensatzpaare" in Oehler (supra, n. 125) p. 74 (where "Ol. 1" is a mistake for "P. 1").

128 The apparent contradiction of terminology here arises from scholarly convention, and can best be resolved after further examination of *Isthm.* 7. I therefore postpone until later (infra, pp. 43f) a discussion of these terms.

The identical names of the two men lend them readily to comparison. While it is useless to speculate whether or not the homonym suggested the topic of the warrior's death to Pindar, the similarity of names creates an inevitable parallelism between the nephew and the uncle; and that parallelism is in force throughout the digression. But these nominal similarities between the athlete and his heroic uncle are complemented and reinforced by similarities quite substantial. Pindar himself speaks of a κοινὸν θάλος (v. 24).

The reciprocity of martial and athletic endeavor is so rudimentary to Pindar that he sometimes joins the heroism of the warrior and that of the athlete as being essentially the same.[129] For example, in *Isthm.* 1.50f, we find: ὃς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἁβρόν, /εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται. An extensive equation of the two kinds of heroes occurs in both *Pythian* 8 and *Isthmian* 5, odes which, like *Isthmian* 7, honor a victor in a combative event; such poems seem especially appropriate for elaborating the athlete-warrior analogy.[130] There are, indeed, other suggestions

[129] See also Bowra 183-186.

[130] In *Isthm.* 5, Pindar explains (καὶ γάρ) the need (for vv. 24-27 as a χρέος-motif, see Bundy II, 56) for celebrating the athletic achievements of Lampon's sons as follows: καὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταὶ λόγον ἐκέρδαναν (vv. 28f). Lampon's sons thus clearly find their counterpart in ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταί. A priamel-list of warrior heroes then focuses attention on the sons of Aeacus (vv. 33-39), whose martial exploits are recounted (vv. 39-53). These past glories are then compared (καὶ νῦν) with the Aeginetan prominence at the battle of Salamis (vv. 53-56). Pindar then returns to praise of the athletic victories (καλλίνικον, v. 61, ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισιν, v. 62). Thus the athletic victories and military exploits are lumped together into one and find their antecedent in the deeds of the ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταί of Aegina, the Aeacids.

Pyth. 8 is even more pertinent to *Isthm.* 7, for they have strong structural affinities. In praise of Aegina again (vv. 22-26), the poet notes that she has long been famous for her athletes and for her warriors: πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ ἀείδεται νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις θρέψαισα καὶ θοαῖς ὑπερτάτους ἥρωας ἐν μάχαις (vv. 26ff). Pindar excuses himself from cataloguing (as in *Isthm.* 5) these exploits (even though the Aeacids have been mentioned in v. 24) on the grounds of not having time for so long a list, which might bring about κόρος (vv. 30-33: see Bundy II, 41f, 75, Thummer 60, 124). He immediately turns (v. 33) to the most recent of these glorious events (νεώτατον καλῶν), Aristomenes' victory (v. 36), which continues a family tradition (vv. 36-39). The way in which Aristomenes reflects his family's greatness is then illustrated by the myth of the warrior, Alkman (vv. 40-49, etc.). Thus the argument moves from victors (vv. 20f) to victors and warriors (vv. 27f), to victors (vv. 36-39), to warriors again (vv. 42-49) with no qualitative distinction ever being made. In *Isthm.* 7 Pindar, instead of forgoing the catalogue as he does in *Pyth.* 8, presents it (vv. 1-17), then gives the most recent entry (vv. 20-24: with καλῶν in *Pyth.* 8.34 cf. καλῶν

in *Isthmian* 7 that the martial themes suit the victor. In his specific praise of Strepsiades (vv. 21ff), Pindar chose, from an obviously varied repertoire, to concentrate on the young pancratist's strength and beauty, and on his *aretê*. The last word no doubt still retained, for Pindar, some of its earlier martial connotations.[131] And the physical beauty of the valiant young warrior, even when cut down in battle, is a commonplace of battle poetry from Homer on down, as, for example, in Tyrtaeus 6-7.27-30: νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν, ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ· ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητός κτλ. (supra, p. 21).[132]

If we place the young victor in the martial context wherein the poem puts him, we can better understand the poem itself. In order to eulogize the fallen Strepsiades, Pindar did not need to use the generic version of the martial theme which assigns glory to the brave patriotic warrior ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών. Since Strepsiades was already dead, the simpler—and probably more august—version, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, would surely have sufficed and been apt; the rewards of the living hero are of slight pertinence to his dead counterpart. But if the glory of the athlete and that of the soldier are essentially kindred, if the pancratist's heroism is similar to that of his warrior uncle, it is possible that he earns rewards like those of the military hero—and our young athlete is alive to enjoy them.

Tyrtaeus recounts (9.22-34) the rewards of the *heros mortuus* in language much like Pindar's eulogy of the fallen Strepsiades, and then sets forth the rewards of the *heros vivus* (9.37-42):

πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
  πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς 'Αίδην,
γηράσκων ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐ δέ τις αὐτόν
  βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει,
πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτόν
  εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἵ τε παλαιότεροι.

Having earlier seen misguided interpretations of such phrases as ἔρχεται εἰς 'Αίδην and γηράσκων, we shall not be much surprised or detained by the fact that these lucid verses of Tyrtaeus have, over

in *Isthm.* 7.2), which is followed by an (illustrative, I shall argue) digression on a military hero (vv. 24-37). Cf. also *Nem.* 2.13-18.

[131] See Rumpel (supra, n. 65), s.v. 2, and note the similarity between the uses of the word in martial and in athletic contexts.

[132] Cf. *Iliad* 22.71ff (Tyrtaeus 6-7.19-28 closely parallel *Iliad* 22.71-76). See also supra, n. 79.

the years, been transposed; or declared quite spurious; or relieved of their bothersome interpolation, the distich containing the phrase ἔρχεται εἰς 'Αΐδην.[133] The obvious solution to their supposed difficulties lies not in maltreating the text but in recognizing that Tyrtaeus' phrases have virtually nothing to do with the actual death and old age of the hero. ἔρχεται εἰς 'Αΐδην· γηράσκων, like ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον αἰῶνα (*Isthm.* 7.41f) and its congeners (ἀντιάσαις 'Αΐδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι, χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαι, etc.), merely implies, "till the day he dies," that is, 'continually, for the rest of his life.'

There are, indeed, some striking similarities between *Isthm.* 7.40ff and Tyrtaeus 9.39f besides the idiomatic periphrasis noted above. In both passages the mode of life to be maintained 'till the dying day' is, as often, expressed by a participle (παθών, διώκων), and both concern τερπνά (πολλὰ τερπνά, ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον). In the thematic progression of *Isthmian* 7, ὅ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον leads forward to the upcoming Pythian contest, but itself derives from the enjoyment of the Isthmian victory, which is obviously the most immediate τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον. The indestructible achievement of the victory, like the achieved heroism of Tyrtaeus' warrior, warrants the easy-going, pleasurable life mentioned in *Isthm.* 7.40ff.[134] Otherwise, such a life could be undistinguished, even base. Pindar, *mutatis mutandis*, captures the spirit of Tyrtaeus' idea when he says ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον/ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν/ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν (*Ol.* 1.97ff). The evidence strongly suggests, then, that the young Strepsiades is the living counterpart of his fallen namesake, that their achievements, too, are kindred, and that they partake of the same kind of glory.

Probably no scholar would deny a close association between the athletic and the military in Pindar; but we might hesitate, on other grounds, to view the passage about the elder Strepsiades as an exemplum for Strepsiades the younger: to compare the athlete's patriotic victory to his uncle's patriotic martyrdom results, indeed, in a gross exaggeration. Yet that apparent difficulty proves insubstantial. This implicit comparison in *Isthmian* 7 is surely

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[133] For the almost incredible textual history of these verses in the nineteenth century, see Bergk *ad* 9 (12 Bergk). 39-42, whose clear explanation of the passage probably saved it from an irremediable mangling.

[134] This function of vv. 40ff is important, and Thummer (68f ["3"] and [for *Isthm.* 7] 67, 117) well explains and emphasizes it, but to the exclusion of the thematic relationship of v. 40 to vv. 49ff.

no greater an exaggeration than in *Pythian* 6, where Pindar explicitly compares Thrasyboulos' filial devotion to Antilochus' filial martyrdom. Furthermore, Pindar is not allegorizing the heroism of the one man with that of the other; he is, rather, indicating some similarities. It is the erroneous assumption of downright allegory in Pindar that has so often given rise to alluring but controversial, precarious, and extremely speculative interpretations.[135]

If we regard the comparison made by the Pindaric paradigm as more like a Homeric simile than a medieval or modern allegory, we are on sounder ground. We do not expect a precise point for point correspondence in the Homeric simile; some details may, in fact, appear wholly unrelated. But the poet views at least one feature (and usually more [136]) in the compared object or event as so similar to a feature of the other that he presents his simile, regardless of secondary disparities, as an effective means of illustrating the point which he wishes to make. No one would make an epithalamium of *Olympian* 7, merely on the grounds that the opening simile compares the epinician to a wedding gift; so we need not follow Boeckh, who made an epithalamium of *Pythian* 9 merely because the mythical digression seems to express much about marriage.[137] Rather, in both cases, Pindar presents some other striking similarity not dependent upon the approach of an actual and specific wedding. To return to *Pythian* 6, there is no implication that Thrasyboulos is the precise equivalent of Antilochos, or even that his filial devotion is of an absolute magnitude equal to that of the martyred hero; but it may have an equal dignity.[138] The comparison that Pindar makes is one of kind, not of degree or details. And in *Isthmian* 7, the exemplum of the elder Strepsiades does not imply

[135] Besides those interpretations that are included supra, n. 118, I mention that *Ol.* 7.26-30 induced Dissen to believe that Diagoras had killed an opponent (see Young 80, n. 2).

[136] See, e.g., Fraenkel 44ff.

[137] A. Boeckh, *Gesammelte kleine Schriften* (Leipzig 1858-1872) VII, 395f; some scholars still accept Boeckh's view (e.g., Bowra 292). We should note that Boeckh was merely trying to mitigate Dissen's interpretation, which made Telesikrates guilty of an attempt to rape a young Theban girl.

[138] Cf. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* 3 (1927) 570 (in his review of Oehler [supra, n. 125]): "Das Aktuelle (nämlich eines gegenwärtigen oder doch als gegenwärtig aufgefassten Vorgangs) wird an gültiger Vergangenheit gemessen, bewertet und beurteilt, oder einfach ihr zugeordnet, z.B. um es im Abglanz legendärer Grösse und Hoheit aufleuchten zu lassen, ihm gleichen Rang und gleiche Würde zu verleihen."

that an Isthmian victory is the same as military martyrdom. Rather, Pindar suggests some striking points of similarity, especially, the common name, the patriotic value of the acts, the *aretê* displayed in them, the permanent glory that results, and the image of the handsome young hero, striving his utmost on his city's behalf and on his own.

Through the exemplum of the homonymous uncle, the poet clarifies how he views the young athlete's achievement; and since the heroic feats of both Strepsiadae have an unquestionable patriotic value, they become extensions of the list of highlights in Theban history with which the poem begins. And the exemplary role of the valiant warrior so elevates the athletic achievement as to make the latter worthy of its prominent place in the proem. Thus the exaggeration apparent in a comparison of the two Strepsiadae is no more a cause to censure it than a cause to deny it.[139] To speak plainly, we cannot impose our tastes on Pindar. Furthermore, if we recognize the fact that the similarity in kind is more important to Pindar than the disparity of degree, we acquire one of those sociological data that we seem to prize so highly; for we can better understand why Pindar and the aristocratic society for which he often composed so esteemed the games and the epinician. As the games themselves are sometimes viewed as a civilized substitute for war, success in them may serve as the proof of a young man's patriotism and manhood that might otherwise be demonstrated on the battlefield.

We cannot, however, assign the Strepsiades-digression the role of a non-mythical myth unless we can resolve the seeming contradiction of the term. I assume that scholars regard the central digression of *Isthmian* 7 as essentially different from that, for example, of *Pythian* 6 primarily because the latter is what we ordinarily call mythical and the former is not. The term "mythical" we generally seem [140] to apply to that which is attributed to the

[139] Cf. Finley 158.

[140] Most scholars never clarify their use of these terms. Some students of mythological theory—and the dictionaries—seek to differentiate myth, legend, saga, and fable, but nothing is to be gained for our purposes here from these dictionary definitions; for they are quite ignored by Pindaric critics in common scholarly usage. The few definitions offered in Pindaric scholarship (e.g., Schadewaldt 338, n. 1, Fraenkel 596) are generally helpful, but they little relate to the peculiar use of the term which Illig (p. 1, n. 4) calls "'Mythos' (im technischen Sinne)".

past, but not historical, or at least not demonstrably historical. But Pindaric critics use the term "the myth" in a rather different manner. There are many references to mythical persons and events that we do not designate as "the myth". We reserve that term for the major connected narrative, whether composed of one or more stories, that formally assumes the greatest digressive proportion in an ode.[141] Thus many scholars term the eschatological narrative in *Olympian* 2 "the myth" even though, unlike most mythical stories, it describes a present state and perhaps does not descend from a major poetic tradition.[142]

Moreover, if we apply the criterion "mythical," i.e., not demonstrably historical, to "the myth," i.e., principal digressive story in the epinician poem, we are not on sound ground. For "the myth" of Bacchylides 3 concerns the historical king Croesus, and, except for his historicity, the presentation, form, and function of Croesus' story differ in no significant way from such non-historical narratives as we call "the myth" in Pindar. Scholars call the Croesus-story "the myth" primarily because it forms the central digression and provides an illustrative exemplum of Hieron in respect to his *euergesia*, especially in contributing money to the temple at Delphi.[143] It is true that Aristotle divided exempla into those that are

[141] So Illig 17 with n. 5. I do not know the source of F. Dornseiff's comment (*Pindars Stil* [Berlin 1921] 118), "μῦθος ist der griechische Ausdruck für diesen erzählenden Teil des Siegesliedes." The word is never so used in Pindar or Bacchylides (according to the *indices verborum*), although one might discuss λόγος in this respect. The scholiasts often seem to use παρέκβασις for what we call "the myth" (*Ol.* 13, schol. 133b and passim). Because we so restrict the term "the myth" to a major narrative, neither *Isthm.* 7.1-15 nor *Isthm.* 7.44a-47 is commonly considered a myth, the former, because it is not narrative (supra, n. 112), the latter because it is so brief. A question arises as to which passage contains the myth of *Pyth.* 1 (or whether it contains a myth at all [Bowra 281]); Bowra (p. 282) feels that the "few words" on Iolaos and Castor in *Isthm.* 1 "hardly count" (but for "30-31" read "17-32"—apparently an athletic content does not "count") and that *Nem.* 11.34-37 are unworthy of mention. The concept of "the myth" of an ode occasionally leads to astonishing remarks (see my "Pindaric Criticism²" [supra, n. 55] 78f [on Barigazzi]).

[142] Thus, even though *Ol.* 2.24-33 and 42-49 are of a nature much more like what we call "mythical" than vv. 63-88, seldom, if ever (see Illig 82f), have either of the earlier passages been termed "the myth" of *Ol.* 2; yet that term is often applied to the longer passage (e.g., Schadewaldt 334).

[143] Bowra (p. 304) does not distinguish between the "myths" of Bacch. 3 and 5, "the accounts of Croesus and Meleager," respectively. The story of Croesus in Bacch. 3 is repeatedly called "the myth" (e.g., D. Campbell [ed.], *Greek Lyric Poetry. A Selection* [New York 1967] 416) or "the Croesus-

historical and those that are fictitious, but his division is in no way related to our concepts of history and myth.[144] And Bacchylides obviously feels no more constrained to follow historically demonstrable facts when telling of Croesus than does Pindar when speaking of Achilles or Diomedes.[145] A subject's potentiality, then, for use as "the myth" in an epinician does not depend upon a modern decision that it lacks historicity.

Yet Croesus, howsoever historical, could hardly have provided the subject of an extended narrative exemplum had he been unknown. There is a criterion for such illustrative exempla that tends to make them concern legendary people. They must be so well known that their exemplary value is intelligible and accepted; a rather obscure historical person may not well serve as a paradigm.[146] On this criterion, Strepsiades the elder clearly fails to remain an exemplary candidate. Or does he?

The historical Strepsiades was, apparently, not well known, to say nothing of being legendary. But then it is not, to any considerable degree, the historical Strepsiades that Pindar gives us. We may here find the reason why Pindar so avoids the topical details of Strepsiades' death. He could have told us whom Strepsiades fought against; the conventions of the eulogy of the fallen warrior certainly admit such information.[147] Pindar could have

myth" (R. Jebb [ed.], *Bacchylides* [Cambridge England, 1905], 196f). Oehler (supra, n. 125) 69 calls the Croesus-story "der Mythos," but he carefully notes Croesus' historicity and in commenting on *Pyth.* 1.94-97 he writes (p. 62), "Wir haben hier zwei historische Exempla vor uns. Doch wird Pindar diese kaum stark vom mythologischen unterschieden haben, da ja der Mythos für den Griechen ältere Geschichte war" (cf. supra, p. 17).

[144] Arist. *Rhet.* 1393a-b; the fictitious type (τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν) Aristotle divides into *parabolai* (simple analogy, such as comparing the qualifications of a ruler to those of an athlete) and *logoi* (animal fables, such as those of Aesop). His silence on the matter clearly implies that he saw no such distinction as our "historical" and "mythical"; both would apparently be included under the simple category, "historical" (πράγματα προγεγενημένα). For later rhetorical writers who did make a distinction similar to ours see H. Canter, "The mythological paradigm in Greek and Latin poetry," *AJP* 54 (1933) 201-205, especially nn. 1, 4, and 6.

[145] I.e., Bacchylides' Apollo transfers the historical Croesus to the paradise (cf. *Pyth.* 10.41-44) of Hyperborea (Bacch. 3.58ff) as readily as Pindar has Thetis take the mythical Achilles to the Isle of the Blest (*Ol.* 2, 86f) or Athena make Diomedes immortal (*Nem.* 10.7).

[146] See Canter (supra, n. 144) 223 with note 18.

[147] Peek 76.1f: μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι/Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι (the famous epigram of Simonides [94 Bergk, 83 Diehl] for the seer who fell at Thermopylae, quoted in Hdt. 7.228.3); 3.1; 8.2 (infra, n. 148); 9.4.

told us where the fatal battle was fought; for that, too, is common in such eulogies.[148] There are many other details about the battle and about the historical Strepsiades that Pindar could have included. Most scholars obviously wish that he had included them, but he did not; on the contrary, it looks as if he purposely omitted historical detail. And when he becomes specific enough to name Strepsiades' father (τὺ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, v. 31), the manner is far more reminiscent of the epic apostrophe of the mythical hero (σέ, Πηλέος υἱέ [*Iliad* 20.2], etc.) than of a deme-list.

Aside from his father's name, then, we hear nothing about the historical Strepsiades except insofar as he conforms to a preconceived notion of the ideal warrior, a subject well defined by Greek poetic tradition from Homer, through Tyrtaeus, to tombstone poets of Pindar's own time. We have seen the digression matched, phrase for phrase, theme for theme, in the battle elegy. We have observed how the poetic emphasis on the crucial phrase, προμάχων ἂν ὅμιλον, certifies, traditionally, the absolute perfection of Strepsiades' deed. Through so idealized a treatment, Strepsiades' death passes from the topical world into the area of permanent truth, there to join other absolute acts, such as Antilochus' self-sacrifice on behalf of his father. In effect, Pindar assigns a name to that anonymous but nevertheless ubiquitous and legendary figure, the ὅστις ἀνήρ, the οὗτος ἀνήρ, "αὐτός,"[149] the τόνδε, the ὅντινα, of Tyrtaeus 9.16, 20, 23, 27, 33, etc., respectively: since everyone knew well that ideal warrior, Pindar's Strepsiades is, in a sense, himself legendary. And once he enters the role which Pindar assigns him, he, like Hector, Meleager, and Amphiaraus that served as exempla for his own deed, may prove exemplary—in both the literary and ethical sense—for his nephew of the same name.

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[148] Peek 27.1f: σᾶμα τόδε 'Αρνιάδα· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλεσεν ῎Αρης/βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσὶν ἐπ' 'Αράθθοιο ῥοϜαῖσι (the [6th-century] battle is otherwise unknown according to Peek p. 297, who reproduces the interesting inscription on the plate which follows his title page); 76.2 (supra, n. 147); 8.1 (the battle of Athenians and Persians "at the Eurymedon" in 468); 12.6 and 10 (battle of Potidaea, 432); cf. 15.4.

[149] Diehl restores the mss. αὐτὸς δ' to his text. Campbell (supra, n. 143) 181 argues for a return to Bergk's emendation (ὃς δ' αὖτ') on the grounds that "the emphatic αὐτός has no point." Perhaps some defense of αὐτός is to be found in Peek 7.4 where the same formula (αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν προμάχοισι θάνον [Tyrtaeus has πεσών]) occurs, and the emphatic αὐτοί contrasts the sacrifice of the warriors with the benefits (a free city) that their children will derive from it.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

This essay is an expanded version of a paper entitled "Some Pindaric Exempla," which I read at the 1968 convention of the American Philological Association in Toronto.* Works to which reference is made five or more times in the notes are cited by the author's name alone as follows: T. BERGK (ed.), *Poetae lyrici Graeci*[3] (Leipzig 1866); A. BOECKH (ed.), *Pindari opera quae supersunt*, 2 vols. in 4 parts (Leipzig 1811-1821: mere page references to either BOECKH or DISSEN refer to vol. II, 2 of this work); C. M. BOWRA, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964); E. L. BUNDY, *Studia Pindarica* I, II (Berkeley 1962) = *CPCP* 18, 1-34, 35-92; J. B. BURY (ed.), *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London 1892); W. CHRIST (ed.), *Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1896); L. DISSEN (see explanation for BOECKH, supra); L. R. FARNELL (ed.), *The Works of Pindar*, 3 vols. (London 1930-1932); C. FENNELL (ed.), *Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes*[2] (Cambridge 1899); J. FINLEY, *Pindar and Aeschylus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1955); G. FRACCAROLI, *Le odi di Pindaro dichiarate e tradotte* (Verona 1894); H. FRAENKEL, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*[2] (Munich 1962); L. ILLIG, *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung* (Berlin 1932), R. LATTIMORE (transl.), *The Odes of Pindar* (Chicago 1947); G. MÉAUTIS, *Pindare le Dorien* (Neuchâtel 1962); F. MEZGER, *Pindar's Siegeslieder* (Leipzig 1880); A. PUECH (ed.), *Pindare. Isthmiques et Fragments*[2] (Paris 1952); W. SCHADEWALDT, *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle 1928); E. THUMMER (ed.), *Pindar. Die Isthmischen Gedichte*, I (Heidelberg 1968); U. von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922); David YOUNG, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968).

The text used here is A. TURYN (ed.), *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Krakow 1948); crucial differences between Turyn's text and those of other standard editions are discussed in the course of the study. For the elegists, I have used E. Diehl (ed.),

* Thummer's second volume (*Die Isthmischen Gedichte* II, Heidelberg 1969) arrived after my final manuscript was completed. His commentary (II, 113-124) and my analysis (Chap. II, supra) perhaps complement, but neither duplicate nor oppose one another. There seems, therefore, no need to append remarks pertaining to his commentary. I am, however, pleased to second his rejection of the usual date and to elaborate the reasons why it should be rejected.

Anthologia lyrica Graeca I^{2} (Leipzig 1954). The abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow, where applicable, those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; abbreviations of modern periodicals and series follow the recommendations of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1965) 201-206. The frequent references to PEEK (W. Peek [ed.], *Griechische Grabgedichte* [Berlin 1960] = *Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt* 7) refer not to the page numbers but to the poems themselves. I here list the relevant poems with their Peek numbers, source, date, and numerical designation in W. Peek (ed.), *G(riechische) V(ers-Inschriften)* I (Berlin 1955). The dates (and other information) have been taken directly from Peek; I have not undertaken an independent study of these materials.

Peek no.	*Source*	*Date* (*B.C.*)	*GV no.*
3	Strabo 9.4.2	after 480/79	6
7	*Anth. Pal.* 7.512 (cf. Hdt. 9.35)	479/8? 473/2?	11
8	*Anth. Pal.* 7.258 (cf. Paus. 1.29.14)	after 469/8 (465/4)	13
9	*IG* I^{2} 946, *Anth. Pal.* 7.254	after 458/7?	14
11	*IG* I^{2} 943	440/39	18
12	*IG* I^{2} 945	432	20
14	*IG* V 2, 412	352?	25
15	*IG* II/III^{2} 5226, *Anth. Pal.* 7.245	338/7	27
17	*Anth. Pal.* 7.242 (Mnasalkes)	3rd cent(ury)	31
21	*IG* II/III^{2} 879, 5227a	287/6?	40
27	*IG* IX 1, 868	early 6th cent.	73
32	*IG* IX I^{2}, 214	6/5th cent.	70
36	*IG* VII 2247	6/5th cent.	321
46	*Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949) 361ff	ca. 540	1224
50	*IG* I^{2} 976	middle of 6th cent.	1226
66	*REG* 9 (1896) 422, 11	4th cent.	496
76	Hdt. 7.228 (Simonides)	after 480/79	94
125	*IG* IX 2, 466	early 3rd cent.	425
130	*IG* IX I^{2}, 298	3rd cent.	749
136	*GGS** 7, 49	late 1st cent.	767
169	Πολέμων 2 (1934/38) 59ff, 10	4/3rd cent.	1230
186	*IG* IX I^{2}, 462	ca. 300	1458
191	*IG* II/III^{2} 11960	middle of 3rd cent.	1466
212	*IG* IX 1, 1064	late 3rd cent.	1640
457	*RevPhil* 26 (1902) 257ff	281	1965

* G. v. Kieseritzky—C. Watzinger, *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland* (Berlin 1909).

A THEMATIC CONCORDANCE

	Pindar *Isthmian* 7	Martial poetry		Inscriptions (Peek)	
24 25	μάτρωϊ θ' ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν,	Tyrt. 9.33f	ὅντιν' . . . θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ	46.2 27.1 136.5	ὃν ποτ' **ἐνὶ προμάχοις** ὤλεσε θοῦρος Ἄρης σᾶμα τόδε Ἀρνιάδα· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλεσεν Ἄρης βάσκανος ὃν κατέπεφνεν Ἄρης πάτρη **προμαχεῦντα**
26	τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται.	Tyrt. 9.20 29	οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ . . . . καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποισ' ἀρίσημοι καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω· οὐ δέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ (continued [vv. 32-37] infra)	17.3	ἄρνυνται δ' ἀρετᾶς αἶνον μέγαν (cf. 161.15 κατὰ κλέος . . . ἀγαθοί, ὡγαθὸς in 130.4 [infra] and Simon. 4.6 [B.]ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν/Ἑλλάδος εἵλετο)
27	ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις ἐν ταύτᾳ νεφέλᾳ χάλαζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,	*Iliad* 15.496 Tyrt. 6-7.1 Call. 1.6	οὔ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης/τεθνάμεν Τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν **ἐνὶ προμάχοισι** πεσόντα ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον τιμῆέν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου	32.2 14.2 125.1 191.3	ὃς περὶ τᾶς αὐτῶ γᾶς θάνε μαρνάμενος μαρνάμενοι πάτρας οἵδε περὶ σφετέρας περὶ πάτρας/μαρνάμενος πρῶτος δ' **ἐν προμάχοισι** θάνεν ἀγχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος ὁ γὰρ κλήροισιν ἀμύνων
28	λοιγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ,	Tyrt. 9.21	αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας τρηχείας (continued infra)	191.4 212.4 457.13	δυσμενέων ὀλοὸν τραῦμα κατηγάγετο ὤλετο, δυσμενέων φῦλον ἀμυνόμενος εὐκλέα δέξατο γαῖα **μετὰ προμάχοισι** δαμέντα, δυσμενέων πολλοὺς πρόσθε δαϊξάμενον
29	ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων	Tyrt. 9.24	ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας	11.2 12.12 125.3 186.4	βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' εὐκλέισαν πατρίδα ἠλλάξαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατρίδ' εὐκλέισαν οὐχὶ καταισχύνας πατρίδ' οὐδὲ γονῆας ἑαυτοῦ ὤλεο πατρῴην δόξαν ἀειράμενος
30	ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών.	Call. 1.18 Tyrt. 6-7.29 Tyrt. 9.23-44: 32 35 37	λαῷ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρός θνῄσκοντος, ζώων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶν ζωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' **ἐν προμάχοισι** πεσών entire passage; note especially the transition: ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος, ὅντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ. εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο, πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί		(Since the inscriptions are epitaphs, they concentrate on the theme of the *heros mortuus* to the virtual exclusion of the *heros vivus*; but cf. 130.4 ὠγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελεν ἢ τεθνάναι.)
31 32 33 34	τὺ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, μαχατὰν αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἕκτορα Ἀμφιάρηόν τε, εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἁλικίαν	Tyrt. 6-7.24 28	θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ' ἄλκιμον ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ	21.6 11.1 50.3	πρὸ φίλης πνεῦμα ἔλιπες πατρίδος ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἥβην ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον νεαρὰν ἥβην ὀλέσαντα (supra, n. 79)
 35	Στρ. γ' **προμάχων** ἀν' ὅμιλον, ἔνθ' ἄριστοι	Tyrt. 9.23 Besides the passages supra where the expression appears in boldface type cf. Tyrt. 6-7.21 **μετὰ προμάχοισι** πεσόντα, 8.4, 12, and 9.16.	αὐτὸς δ' **ἐν προμάχοισι** πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν		All the passages supra and infra where the expression appears in boldface type; also αὐτοὶ δ' **ἐν προμάχοισι** θάνον (7.4), ὅς ποτ' ἀριστεύων **ἐν προμάχοισ[ι** πέσεν] (36.2), and τὸν **ἐν προμάχοισι** πεσόντα (169.1)
36	ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν.	Tyrt. 9.22	σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης	14.3	ἦ γὰρ ἔσω νυκτὸς πυμάτας ὑπὲρ ἕρκεα πύργων βάντα κατ' ἀκροτάτων ἤλασαν ἐκτὸς Ἄρη
37	ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν·	Tyrt. 9.27 Call. 1.17	τόνδ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἤν τι πάθῃ (continued [vv. 18f] supra)	12.9 130.5	ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθέως], πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας οἳ θάνον **ἐν προμάχοις** πίπτει δ' **ἐν προμάχοισι** λιπὼν πατρὶ μύριον ἄλγος

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